

Env. 112 d

(2)

<36635617530011

<36635617530011

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

IMPORTANT WORKS

RECENTLY PUBLISHED,

BY LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

Messrs. LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, and BROWN, having just completed and fitted elegant and commodious Retail Rooms, retired from their Wholesale Business, for the purpose of exhibiting an extensive and valuable Stock of Books, including an unprecedented Collection of the Rarities and Curiosities of Literature, they take the Liberty respectfully to invite their Friends, and the Amateurs of Literature, to view the interesting Literary Treasures.

TRAVELS OF ALI BEY,

Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and the Holy Land, between the Years 1803 and 1807. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, and Translated into English. In two Volumes Quarto. Illustrated by nearly One Hundred Engravings and Plates. Price 6l. 6s. Bds.

PAUL'S LETTERS to his KINSFOLK; a Series of Letters from the Continent. In 8vo. Second Edition, Price 12s. Bds.

THE LIFE of JAMES the SECOND, KING of ENGLAND, &c. collected out of Memoirs of his own Hand, together with the King's Advice to his Son, and His Majesty's Will.

Published by command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, from the original Stuart Manuscripts which had been carefully preserved at Rome in the custody of the Pretender, and are now deposited in Carlton House. By the Rev. J. S. CLARKE, LL.B. F.R.S. Historiographer to the King, Chaplain to the Household, Librarian to the Prince Regent.

2 large Volumes, Quarto, Price 6l. 6s. in Boards.

This Work comprises the History of Great Britain and France, from the latter Part of the Reign of Charles the First, to the close of King William's Reign.

AN ACCOUNT of the KINGDOM of AFGHANISTAN, and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India; comprising a View of the Afghaan Nation, and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy.

By the Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, of the Hon. East India Company's Service; Resident at the Court of Poona; and late Envoy to the King of Aghanistan. In 1 vol. 4to. illustrated by Two Maps and 14 Engravings, 13 of which are coloured. Price 3l. 13s. 6d.

VALENTINE'S EVE, A NOVEL.

Mrs. OPIE. In 3 Vols. 12mo. Price 1l. 1s. Boards.

Also, by the same Author,

TALES of REAL LIFE, in 3 Vols. 12mo. 18s. Bds.

TEMPER; or, DOMESTIC SCENES, 3 Vols. 1l. 1s. Bds.

SIMPLE TALES. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s. Bds.

FATHER and DAUGHTER, 12mo. 4s. 6d. Bds.

POEMS, foolscap 8vo. 6s. Bds.

TRAVELS in the IONIAN ISLES, in IONIA, THESALY, and GREECE, in 1812 and 1813. Together with an Account of a Residence at Joannina, the Capital and Court of Ali Pasha; and with a more curious Sketch of a Route through Attica, the Morea, &c.

By HENRY HOLLAND, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. In one Vol. 4to. illustrated by a Map and Twelve Engravings, Price 3l. 3s. Bds.

The principal object of this Work is to afford a series of sketches of the scenery, inhabitants, natural history, and antiquities of those parts of Greece, which have hitherto more partially known or described.

THE PERSONAL NARRATIVE of M. DE HUMBOLDT'S TRAVELS to the EQUINOCTIAL REGIONS of the NEW CONTINENT, during the Years 1800-1804; accompanied by the whole of the Text of the Atlas Pittoresque, and a Selection of the Plates of M. de Humboldt, comprising his Researches on the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, &c. &c.

Translated by HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS, Under the immediate Inspection of the Author. Four vols. of this Work are already published in 8vo. illustrated with Plates, some of which are coloured, Price 2l. 12s. 6d. Boards; and the remaining Volumes will speedily follow.

PARIS REVISITED in 1815, by Way of

Brussels, including a Walk over the Field of Battle at Waterloo; Observations on the late Military Events, and Anecdotes of the Engagements; a View of the Capital of France when in the Occupation of the English and Prussian Troops; a minute Account of the whole Proceedings relative to the removal of the plundered Works of Art from the Louvre, with Reflections on this Measure; concluding with Remarks on the Political Temper and Condition of France, and the Character of the Bourbon Government.

By JOHN SCOTT,

Author of the Visit to Paris in 1814; and Editor of the Champion, a Political and Literary Journal.

The Second Edition. In 8vo. Price 12s. Boards.

Also may be had, by the same Author,

A VISIT to PARIS in 1814. Containing a Review of the Moral, Political, Intellectual, and Social Condition of the French Capital: Observations on the Manners of the various Classes of Society; and on the general State of its Information and Attainments in Literature and Arts. In 8vo. The Fourth Edit. Price 12s. Bds.

TRAVELS to the SOURCE of the MISSOURI RIVER, and across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean. Performed by Order of the Government of the United States, in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806.

By Captains LEWIS and CLARKE.

Published from the Official Report, and illustrated by a Map of the Route, and other Maps. In 3 Vols. 8vo.

Price 2l. 2s. Boards.

The SPEECHES of the RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES JAMES FOX, in the House of Commons. In Six Volumes, 8vo. (with an Introduction, by the Right Honourable LORD ERSKINE,) 4l. 4s. Bds.

Also may be had,

SPEECHES of the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT; in three Vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d. Bds.

SPEECHES of the Right Hon. WILLIAM WINDHAM; in three Vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s. Bds.

The PARIS SPECTATOR; or, L'HERMITE DE LA CHAUSSEE-D'ANTIN. Containing Observations upon Parisian Manners and Customs at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century. Translated from the French. By WILLIAM JERDAN. In 3 vols. 12mo. Price 18s. Boards.

RODERICK, the LAST of the GOTHs, a TRAGIC POEM. By ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq.

Poet Laureat, and Member of the Royal Spanish Academy. 4th Edition. In 2 Vols. fcap 8vo. 16s. Bds.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

By SHARON TURNER, F. S. A.

Volume the Second. In Quarto, Price 2l. 2s. Boards.

Containing the History of the Reigns of Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V.—Also the History of Religion in England—The History of English Poetry, and of the English Language and Prose Literature.

Also, by the same Author,

1. The HISTORY of ENGLAND, from the Norman Conquest, to the Accession of Edward the First. In Quarto, Price 1l. 16s. Boards.

2. The HISTORY of the ANGLO SAXONS, comprising the History of England up to the Norman Conquest, in Two Vols. Second Edition, Price 3l. 3s. Bds.

SYSTEMATIC EDUCATION

MENTARY INSTRUCTION in the the Founders. of Literature and Science: w. for studying each Branch of useful K. By the Rev. W. SHEPHERD, the Rev. LANT CARPENT. In two thick Vols. 8vo. (closely 4to. with Impres- trated with nine Plates by Lowry, e 7l. 7s. Bds.

The Authors of this work have had such elementary Instruction as may be comparative for future reading, to p sources of farther information, and a narrow Compass, a great fund o ledge, which could only be obtained multitude of Volumes.

HINTS ADDRESSED to the EIGHTEENTH TORS of ORCHARDS, and to GROV Hearne's Jour- general, comprising Observations of Hall, the Seat of of the Apple Trees, in the Cider Cou ent Men, by John Tour during the last Summer. Also blished from the tory of the Aphis Lanata or America and Ashmolean Insects destructive to Fruit Trees, ary Illustrations. SALISBURY. In One Vol. 12mo. Pm the GENTLE-

An **INTRODUCTION** to GY; or, ELEMENTS of the NATURAL HIS 5d. Bds. By the Rev. WILLIAM KIRBY ATIONS and And WILLIAM SPENCE, Rly intended to Vol. I. illustrated by coloured Plates the new Modes This work is intended as a generitral Adoption of tory of Insects. The present volunch are subjoined, count of the injuries they occasion, thexcite, and exer- from them, the metamorphoses thsold separately, affection for their young, their varHAMILTON, and the means by which they procurprinciples of Edu- description of their habitations. e 7s. Bds.

The two remaining volumes will HEMATICS, convenient speed, and it is hoped w teresting with that now published.

SERMONS,

By the Rev. ARCHIBALD ALL sed, and greatly Prebendary of Sarum, Rector of Roc English, and im- High Ercall, and Senior Minister servations. By Chapel, Edinburgh. R. S. Emeritus

Volume the Second. In 8vo. Pric al Military Aca- Also, by the same Auth In 4 Vols. 8vo.

1. SERMONS, chiefly on Public Oc 3s. Bds.

2. ESSAYS on the NATURE andthe Author which TASTE, 2 Vols. 8vo. 4th Edit. 1l. 1s. Bs of the Ancients.

THE FIELD OF WATER,

By WALTER SCOTT, ege, Cambridge; The Third Edition. In 8vo. na Græcia."

The LORD of the ISLES,

By WALTER SCOTT, cal View of the The 4th Edition. In 8vo. Price 14s.; s. and in royal 1l. 8s. Bds.

A SERIES of ILLUSTRATIONS

LORD of the ISLES, a Poem, by W. S the Designs of R. WESTALL, Esq. R. Proofs on French Paper, 1l. 16s. Prin Bds.

* * A few Copies of Proof Impressiom; and his charac- beauty, and often view, No. XXX.

CHARLEMAGNE; or, T

DELIVERED: an Epic Poem. In T NTERTEIN-

By LUCIEN BONAPAR nally corrected Of the Institute of France, &c. &c. a Selection of English Verse, By the Rev. S. BUT the Arabic Orig-

And the Rev. FRANCIS HODG, illustrative of Elegantly printed in 2 Vols. demy, of the Mahom-

A few Copies on royal Paper, Price 7 Also, the Original French, in 2 Vols. L. D.

MEMOIRS of the KINGS

the HOUSE of BOURBON, from the military and East the FIFTH to the Death of CHARLES 5d.; and 6 Vols.

1788. Drawn from unpublished Doctand hot-pressed Papers. With an Historical Introd, m Paintings by the principal Transactions under at Plates, Price

nasty, and a Statistical Account of t a Description at the Accession of CHARLES the Four a Description permission to the Marquis of Welling ng from the Air,

By WILLIAM COXE, A.M. F. ts; being Rules Archdeacon of Wilts, and Rector of B d Hunting, with

Edition, in 5 Vols. 8vo. Pric to each; inter- from Natural

A TOUR through some Parts

SWITZERLAND, SAVOY, GERMAN EL. during the Summer and Autumn of 18 m Drawings by

By the Hon. RICHARD BOYLE BE Scott. In One Vol. 8vo. Price 9s. e 7l. 17s. 6d.

The HISTORY of EUROPE, from the

Peace of 1783 to the present Time, exhibiting a View of the Commotions in HOLLAND and BRABANT, the Wars between RUSSIA, AUSTRIA, the OTTOMAN PORTE, and SWEDEN, the Annihilation of the Kingdom of POLAND the Revolution of FRANCE, and the Wars which have proceeded from that extraordinary Event, with the recent Revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Sweden.

By JOHN BIGLAND.

In 2 Vols. 8vo. the 2d Edit. Price 1l. 8s. Bds.

Also, by the same Author,

The HISTORY of ENGLAND, from the earliest Period to the Close of the War, 1814, in 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.—GEOGRAPHICAL and HISTORICAL VIEW of the WORLD, 5 Vols. 8vo. 3l. 13s. 6d.—The HISTORY of SPAIN, in 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. Bds.

A COMPENDIUM of GEOGRAPHY for the USE of SCHOOLS, PRIVATE FAMILIES, and those who study this necessary Science.

By RICHMAL MANGNALL,

Author of "HISTORICAL QUESTIONS."

In 12mo. Price 9s. Bound.

TRAVELS at HOME, and VOYAGES by

the FIRE-SIDE; for the Instruction and Entertain- ment of Young Persons: complete in 5 vols. 18mo. (containing Europe, Asia, Africa, and America,) price 15s. half Bound.

"With maps and globes, aided by this little work, young person may travel for knowledge at home, and make voyages of discovery by the fire-side. As we have not often met with equally useful works, we recommend this to the notice of those who have the care of young people."—Critical Review, May, 1814.

Vols. 3 to 5, including Asia, Africa, and America, may be had separate, price 9s. half bound.

DISCOURSES on the PRINCIPAL POINTS of the SOCINIAN CONTROVERSY.

By RALPH WARDLAW, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow.

In 8vo. the 2d Edition, Price 12s. Bds.

An INTRODUCTION to the STUDY of PHYSIOLOGICAL and SYSTEMATICAL BOTANY

By JAMES EDWARD SMITH, M. D. F. R. S. &c. &c. President of the Linnæan Society.

In 8vo. (the Third Edition), with 15 Plates, 14s. Bds.

* * A few Copies are coloured by Desire, 1l. 8s. Bds.

MEMOIRS OF AN OLD WIG.

In Post 8vo. Price 7s. Bds.

SILVA; or a DISCOURSE of FOREST

TREES, and the Propagation of Timber in his Majes- ty's Dominions, as it was delivered in the Royal Societ, on the 15th of October, 1662, upon occasion of certain Queries propounded to that illustrious Assembly by the Hon. the principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy: together with an Historical Account of the Sa credness and Use of Standing Groves.

By JOHN EVELYN, Esq. F.R.S.

With Notes. By A. HUNTER, M.D. F.R.S.

To which is added, The TERRA; a Philosophical Dis- course of Earth; with the Editor's last Corrections, and a short Memoir of him. The Fourth Edition. In 2 Vol royal 4to. Price 5l. 5s. Bds. with 43 Engravings.

The MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS of

JOHN SMEATON, Civil Engineer, &c. F.R. S. commu- nicated to the Royal Society; printed in the Philoso- phical Transactions; and comprising his TREATISE on MILLS, forming a Fourth Volume to his Reports.

In 4to. (with 12 Engravings) Price 1l. 11s. 6d. Bds.

REPORTS, ESTIMATES, and TREA

TISES, embracing the several Subjects of Canals, Na- vigable Rivers, Harbours, Piers, Bridges, Draining Embanking, Lighthouses, Machinery of various De- scriptions; including Fire Engines, Mills, &c. &c. with other Miscellaneous Papers; drawn up in the course of his Employment as a Civil Engineer.

By the late Mr. JOHN SMEATON, F.R.S.

Printed chiefly from his Manuscripts, under the Direc- tion of a Select Committee of Civil Engineers. In 3 Vols. 4to. Price 7l. 7s. Bds. illustrated with 74 Plates, by Lowry.

Volumes II. and III. of the same Work, and the Plates of Vol. I. (not given before) done up in an Atlas, demy 4to. Price 6l. 6s. Boards, may be had separate.

A NARRATIVE of the BUILDING and a DESCRIPTION of the CONSTRUCTION of the EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE with STONE; to which is subjoined, an Appendix, giving some Account of the Lighthouse on the Spurn Point, built upon a Sand.

By JOHN SMEATON, Civil Engineer, F.R.S.

A new Edition, in imperial folio. Price 6l. 6s. half-bd.



SYST
MENTAR
ents of J
or stud
y the Re
th

In two
ated wit
The Aut
ch el
arativ
ources of
narrow
dge, whi
ultitu

HINT
ORS of C
eneral, c
the App
our durin
ry of the
sects de
ALISBU
An D
Y; or, E
By t

ol. I. illu
This wor
ry of In
ount of tl
om ther
fection f
nd the m
escription
The two
onvendien
resting

By tl
ebendar
High Er
Chapel,
Volum

1. SERM
o. 12s. F
2. ESSA
ASTE, 2
THE

The
he 4th J

A SE
ORD of
e Desig
oofs on
th the I
* Afev
CHA
ELIVER

the In
glish V
And
egantl
few Co
Also, th
MEM
e HOU
e FIFT
SS. Di
pers.
e pri
sty, a
the A
rmissi
B
chdea

A TO
ITZF
ing tl
y the

THE
Second Usurpation of Buonaparte ;

OR A HISTORY OF THE

CAUSES, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE IN 1815:

PARTICULARLY COMPRISING

A MINUTE AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE EVER-
MEMORABLE

VICTORY OF WATERLOO.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

APPENDICES,

CONTAINING THE OFFICIAL BULLETINS OF THIS GLORIOUS AND
DECISIVE BATTLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL II.

BY EDMUND BOYCE,

AUTHOR OF THE BELGIAN TRAVELLER, TRANSLATOR OF LABAUME'S CAMPAIGN
IN RUSSIA, AND GIRAUD'S CAMPAIGN OF PARIS, &c.

ASSISTED BY ORIGINAL AND IMPORTANT COMMUNICATIONS
FROM BRITISH AND PRUSSIAN OFFICERS.

WITH ACCURATE MAPS, PLANS, &c.

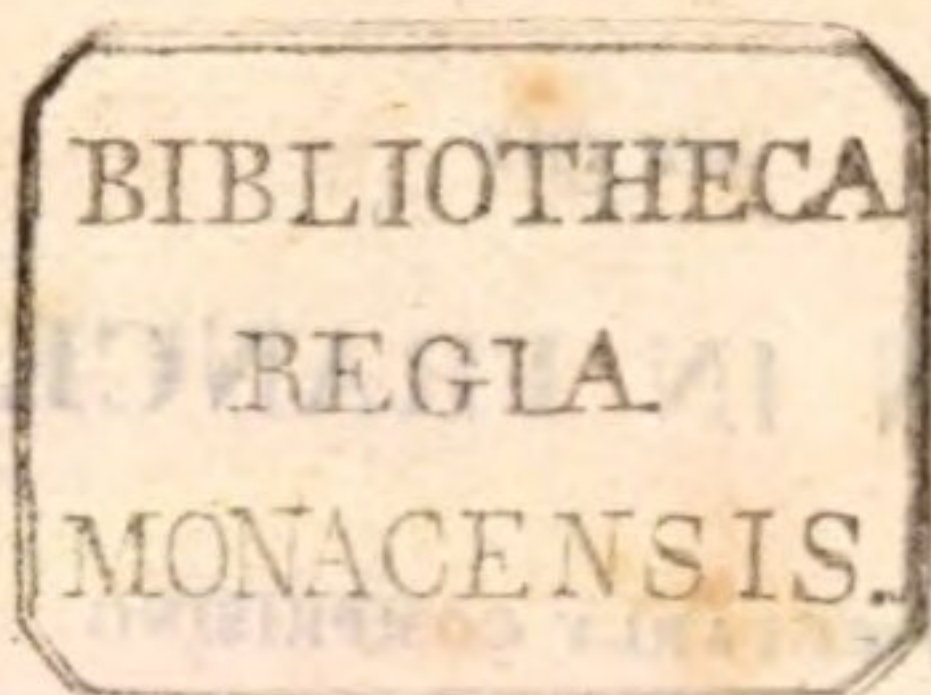
London:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL LEIGH, 18, STRAND,

BY W. CLOWES, ARMY PRINTING-OFFICE,

Northumberland-court, Strand.

1816.



REVOLUTIO IN REGIA

VICTORY OF WATERLOO

ANDER DICES

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II

BY EDWARD BOYCE

EDITED BY THE REV. J. H. STODOLSKY, M.A., OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

ASSISTED BY ORIGINAL AND IMPROVED COMMENTATORS
FROM BRITISH AND FOREIGN OFFICERS

WITH A COMPLETE INDEX, MAPS, &c.

London:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL LEIGH, 18, ST. MARK'S PLACE

BY W. LLOYD, 18, ST. MARK'S PLACE

1816

1816

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE of Napoleon for the Army.—First Advantages of the French.—Battle of Quatre Bras.—The 42d Regiment.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Opportune Arrival of the Guards.—Retreat of the French.—The 28th Regiment.—Close of the Affair.—Death of the Duke of Brunswick.—Error of Napoleon.—Battle of Ligny.—Murderous Contention in the Village.—Repulse of the Prussians.—Danger of Blucher.—Consequences of the Battle, p. 1.

CHAPTER II.

Retreat of the Duke of Wellington to Waterloo.—Affair at Genappe.—Interesting Letter of Lord Anglesea.—Positions and Forces of the two Armies.—Dreadful Night before the Battle.—Character of the Commanders.—Importance of the Contest.—First Attack on Hougoumont.—Noble Resistance of the Guards.—Repulse of the French.—Second Attack on the Left.—Fall of Sir T. Picton.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Scotch Greys.—Sir W. Ponsonby.—Third Attack on the Centre.—La Haye Sainte taken by the French.—Desperate Charge of the whole of the French Cavalry.—Gallantry of the Duke.—Repulse of the French, p. 29.

CHAPTER III.

Fresh Attacks of the French.—Thirtieth Regiment.—First Foot Guards.—Dangerous Situation of the Duke.—His invincible Resolution.—General De Lancy.—Sir Alexander Gordon.—Lieutenant-Colonel Canning.—Captain Curzon.—Fury of Napoleon.—Approach of the Prussians.—Their skilful Position.—Attack of the Cavalry of the Guard.—Last Attack of the Infantry of the Guard.—Noble Gallantry of the British Guards.—Repulse of the French.—Advance of the British Lines.—Total Rout of the French.—Meeting of Wellington and Blucher.—Pursuit of the Prussians.—Dreadful Slaughter of the French.—Sensibility of the Duke of Wellington.—Humanity of the British Soldiers.—Loss of both Armies.—Review of the Battle, p. 59.

CHAPTER IV.

Flight of Napoleon.—Narrow Escape at Genappe.—Arrival at Paris.—State of Parties there.—Conference with the Ministers.—Determination not to dissolve the Chambers.—Fouché.—The Princess Hortensia.—The Council.—Tumultuous Meeting of the Deputies.—Decided Conduct of La Fayette.—Declaration of the Chamber that their Sitting was permanent.—Grand Council in the Evening.—Their Determination.—Agitation of the different Parties.—Meeting of the Deputies.—Motion for the Forfeiture of the Crown.—The Decision suspended for an Hour.—Irresolution of Napoleon.—Interview with Lucien.—Regnault.—Solignac.—Abdication of Napoleon.—Reflections on it, p. 108.

CHAPTER V.

Appointment of a Provisional Government.—Hesitation of the Peers to proclaim Napoleon II.—Indignation of Buonaparte.—Disposition of the Federates.—Indecision of Buonaparte. Napoleon II acknowledged by the Deputies.—Examination of the Propriety of this.—Retreat of Buonaparte to Malmaison.—New Tumults at Paris.—Departure of Buonaparte for Rochefort.—Commissioners sent from the Chambers to treat for Peace, -p. 187.

CHAPTER VI.

Affair at Wavre.—Success of General Grouchy.—His difficult Retreat.—Battle of Namur.—Operations of Blucher.—His Proclamation to the Army.—Excesses of the Prussians.—Operations of Lord Wellington.—Order of the Day.—Good Conduct of the British.—Connexion of Lewis with the Operations of the Allies.—Remarks on the Policy of it.—Sentiments of Blucher.—Capture of Cambray.—Advance of the King.—His Declaration.—Remarks on it, p. 226.

CHAPTER VII.

Progress of the Allies.—Journey of the Commissioners to Haguenau.—State of Parties in Paris.—Unsuccessful Attempts of the French to obtain a Suspension of Arms.—Patriotism of the Representatives.—Siege of Paris.—Convention for its Surrender.—Popular Feeling at Paris.—Conduct of the Chambers.—Retirement of the Army.—Re-entry of the King, p. 261.

CHAPTER VIII.

Operation of the Bavarian, Austrian, and Russian Armies, p. 356.

CHAPTER IX.

Arrival of Buonaparte at Rochefort.—His Irresolution.—Attempts at Escape.—Surrender to the British.—His Conduct on board the Bellerophon.—Interesting Conversation.—The Question of his final Destination examined.—Determination of Ministers to send him to St. Helena.—His Conduct on receiving the Intelligence.—Protest against the Measure.—Another interesting Conversation.—His Departure from Torbay, and Arrival at St. Helena, p. 364.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

*** * *** The Binder is requested to place tissue-paper before the Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which is to face the Title-page of Vol. I.

The Maps to be carefully folded, that the folds may not interfere with the positions of the Troops.

Map of Belgium to face page 1. Vol. I.

Map of the Environs of Bruxelles, exhibiting the situation of the Armies on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th June, to face page 1. Vol. II.

Plan of the Battle of Waterloo, or Mont St. Jean, to face Title-page of Vol. II.

The Plates must not on any account be beaten with the Books, if they are ordered to be bound.

CHAPTER IX

It is recommended that the following directions be observed in the binding of the book. The binder is requested to place the paper before the Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which is to face the Title-page of Vol. I.

The Maps to be carefully folded, that the folds may not interfere with the positions of the Troops.

Map of Belgium to face page I. Vol. I.

Map of the Positions of Brinselles, exhibiting the situation of the Armies on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th June, to face page I. Vol. II.

Plan of the Battle of Waterloo, or Mont St. Jean, to face Title-page of Vol. II.

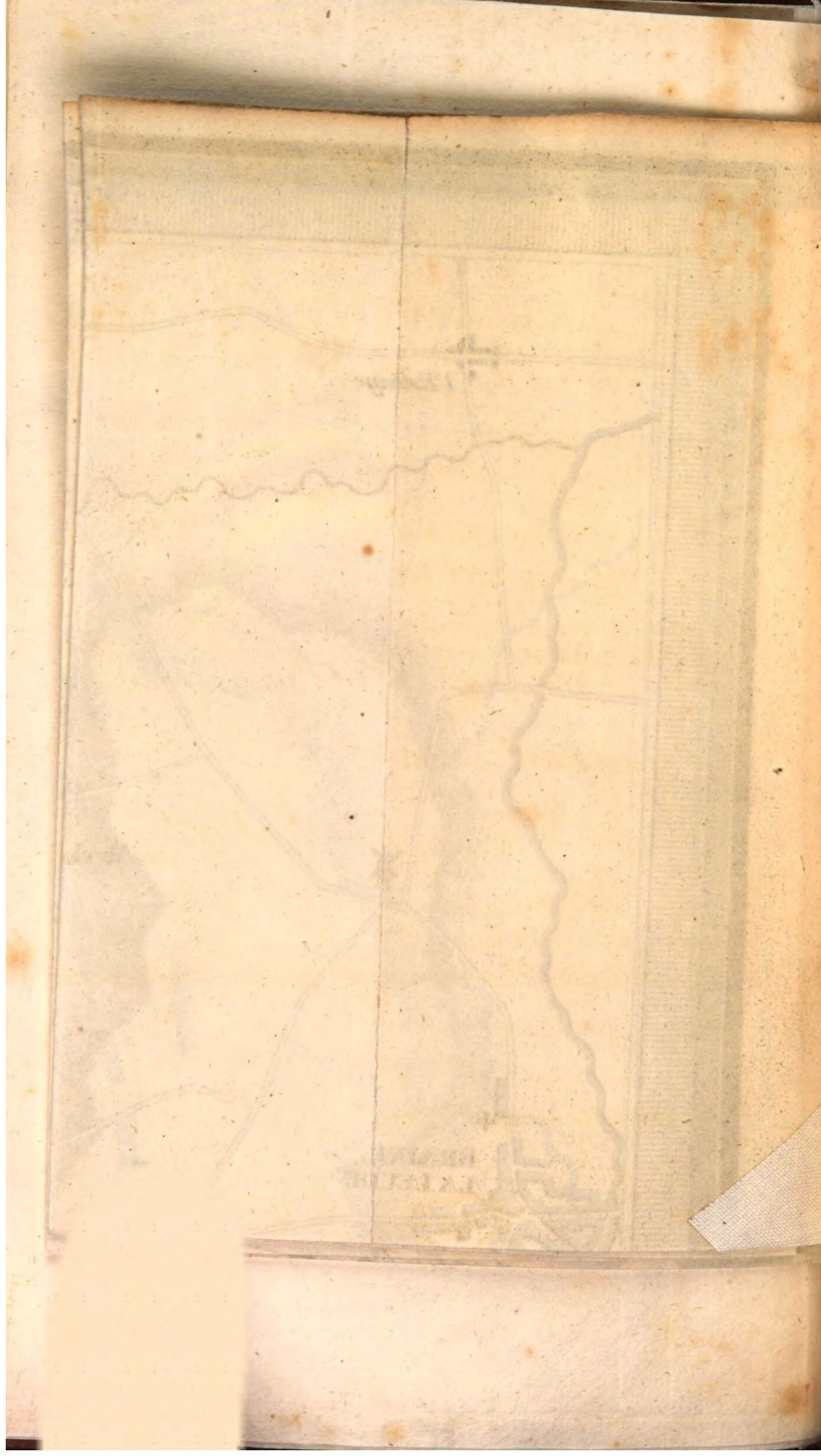
The Plates must not on any account be beaten with the Book, if they are ordered to be bound.

Sketch of the
BATTLE OF WATERLOO,
or
Cont St Jean,
June 18th 1815.

VOL. II.

B

Staatsbibliothek
München



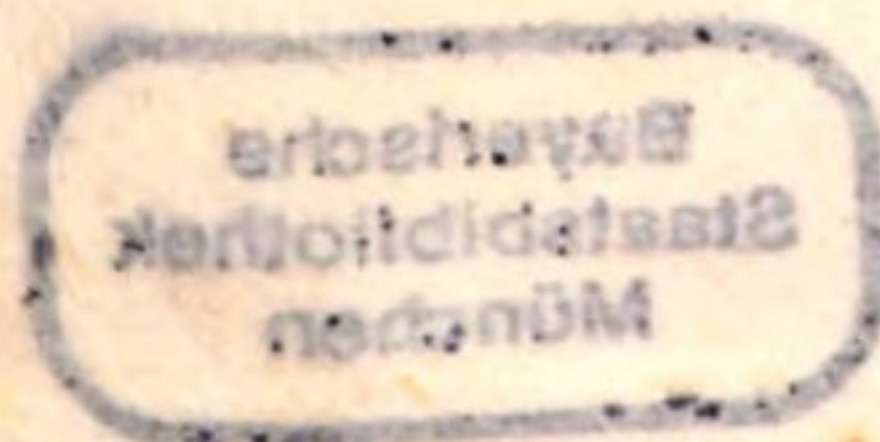
NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER. I.

Departure of Napoleon for the Army.—First Advantages of the French.—Battle of Quatre Bras.—The 42d Regiment.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Opportune Arrival of the Guards.—Retreat of the French.—The 28th Regiment.—Close of the Affair.—Death of the Duke of Brunswick.—Error of Napoleon.—Battle of Ligny.—Murderous Contention in the Village.—Repulse of the Prussians.—Danger of Blucher.—Consequences of the Battle.

ON the 13th of June at night Napoleon quitted Paris to place himself at the head of his troops, and advance on Belgium. The different corps had been united in the neighbourhood of Beaumont, and the Emperor found at his disposal one hundred and



twenty thousand of the best soldiers of France, of whom twenty-five thousand were cavalry, and supported by three hundred pieces of artillery.

Prince Blucher, with eighty thousand Prussians, occupied Charleroi, Givet, Namur, and the left bank of the Sambre; and General Bulow, with thirty thousand more, was cantoned in the country between Liege and Hannut.

The Duke of Wellington had his head quarters at Brussels, in the neighbourhood of which his army was so disposed that it might be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and directed on any point of the frontiers. The first corps was commanded by the Prince of Orange, and consisted of the first and third British divisions, under Generals Cooke and Alten, the first and second Hanoverian, and the second and third Belgian divisions. It occupied Enghein, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles. The second division, commanded by Lord Hill, included the second and fourth British divisions, under Generals Clinton and Hinuber, the third and sixth Hanoverian and the first Belgian, and was established at Ath, Oudenarde, and Grammont. The reserve comprised the fifth and sixth British under Generals Picton and Cole, and the fourth, fifth, and seventh Hanoverian divisions, and was stationed at Brussels and Ghent. The cavalry occupied Grammont and Ninove.

Thirty-eight thousand of these were British; the

German Legion consisted of eight thousand men, the Hanoverian troops comprised fourteen thousand five hundred men, and the Belgians, Brunswickers, and Nassau troops, amounted to twenty-two thousand, making a grand total of more than eighty-two thousand men, of whom about fifteen thousand were employed in garrison duty.

The advanced corps of the Russian army, which was destined to act on the left, was not expected to cross the Rhine at Mannheim in less than six or eight days.

It would have been the policy of Napoleon to have attacked the British and Prussians before they had collected the formidable armies which now occupied Belgium. In the early part of the spring he might easily have directed on the frontiers a force which they would have been unable to resist. But he would have injured his popularity with the French had he commenced offensive operations until every overture for peace had failed; and when these overtures were made in vain, the insecure tenure by which he held the Imperial throne continued to detain him at Paris. He dared not to quit the capital until the Additional Act was accepted by the Champ-de-Mai, and he was acknowledged by the people Emperor of the French. His departure would have been the signal for every kind of intrigue. Fouché was already half alienated from him. Carnot appeared to be sincerely

attached to his cause, but he was at the head of a party who viewed Napoleon with a jealous eye, and who scarcely endeavoured to conceal that they merely considered him as the instrument by which they could best accomplish their ulterior views ; nor did he know what might be the temper of the representatives whose election went on so slowly. The golden opportunity was therefore necessarily lost.

But when the Champ-de-Mai was past, and had not disappointed his wishes, and when the two chambers, though evidently determined to submit no longer to his arbitrary will, yet identified themselves with him as the only means of repelling the innumerable troops of foreigners who crowded towards the frontiers, and whose determination to humble, if not to dismember France, were more than suspected, he felt himself secure from internal commotion. He now delayed not another moment. He replied to the addresses of the chambers, and on the same evening set out for his army.

Arriving at Avesnes on the 14th, he issued the following proclamation, which was read at the head of every regiment:—

“Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous ! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of

Princes whom we left on the throne ! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men ?

Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six !

Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered.

The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of Princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable ? After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, it would devour the states of the second rank of Germany.

The madmen ! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter into France they will there find their tomb.

Soldiers ! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter ; but with steadiness, victory will be ours. The rights, the

ST
AR
of J
lyin
Re
th
wo
wit
Aut
em
ve
s of
ow
whi
de
NT
of C
al, c
App
urin
the
s de
BU
I
r, E
By
illu
wol
f In
of t
the
ion
he m
ptio
two
nien
ing
By t
ndar
a Er
pel,
olum
ER
2s. 1
SSA
E, 2
HE
The
4th
SE
D of
Desig
is on
the
A fe
HA
IVE
ne In
ish V
An
antl
w Co
so, t
IE
HO
Firt
D
ers.
pri
y, a
he A
niss
F
hdea
TO
TZ
ng t
the

THE
Second Usurpation of Buonaparte ;

OR A HISTORY OF THE

CAUSES, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE IN 1815:

PARTICULARLY COMPRISING

A MINUTE AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE EVER-
MEMORABLE

VICTORY OF WATERLOO.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

APPENDICES,

CONTAINING THE OFFICIAL BULLETINS OF THIS GLORIOUS AND
DECISIVE BATTLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL II.

BY EDMUND BOYCE,

AUTHOR OF THE BELGIAN TRAVELLER, TRANSLATOR OF LABAUME'S CAMPAIGN
IN RUSSIA, AND GIRAUD'S CAMPAIGN OF PARIS, &c.

ASSISTED BY ORIGINAL AND IMPORTANT COMMUNICATIONS
FROM BRITISH AND PRUSSIAN OFFICERS.

WITH ACCURATE MAPS, PLANS, &c.

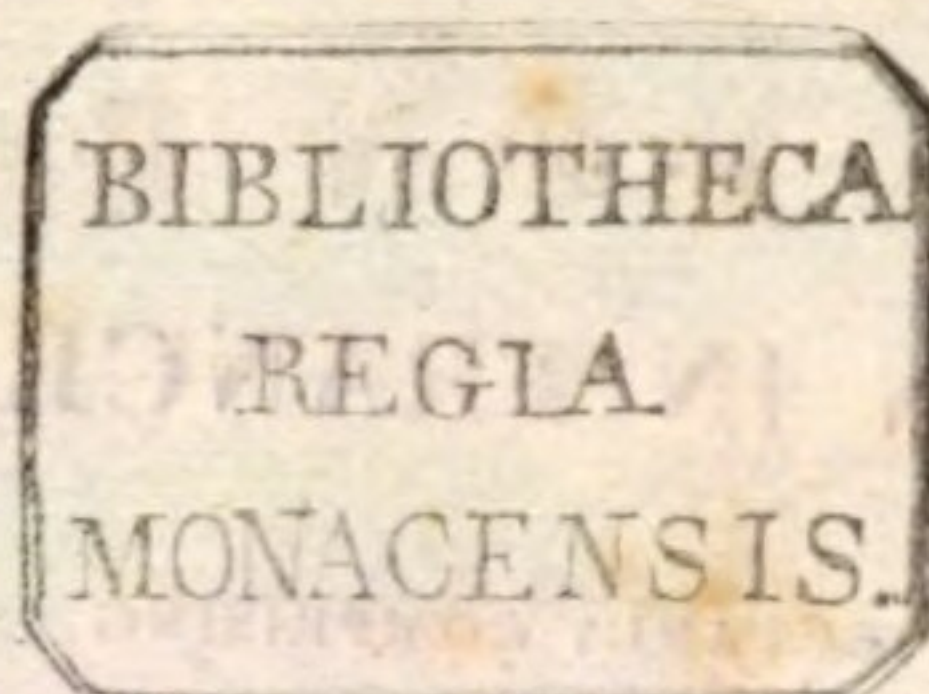
London:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL LEIGH, 18, STRAND,

BY W. CLOWES, ARMY PRINTING-OFFICE,

Northumberland-court, Strand.

1816.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

DÉPARTURE of Napoleon for the Army.—First Advantages of the French.—Battle of Quatre Bras.—The 42d Regiment.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Opportune Arrival of the Guards.—Retreat of the French.—The 28th Regiment.—Close of the Affair.—Death of the Duke of Brunswick.—Error of Napoleon.—Battle of Ligny.—Murderous Contention in the Village.—Repulse of the Prussians.—Danger of Blucher.—Consequences of the Battle, p. 1.

CHAPTER II.

Retreat of the Duke of Wellington to Waterloo.—Affair at Genappe.—Interesting Letter of Lord Anglesea.—Positions and Forces of the two Armies.—Dreadful Night before the Battle.—Character of the Commanders.—Importance of the Contest.—First Attack on Hougoumont.—Noble Resistance of the Guards.—Repulse of the French.—Second Attack on the Left.—Fall of Sir T. Picton.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Scotch Greys.—Sir W. Ponsonby.—Third Attack on the Centre.—La Haye Sainte taken by the French.—Desperate Charge of the whole of the French Cavalry.—Gallantry of the Duke.—Repulse of the French, p. 29.

CHAPTER III.

Fresh Attacks of the French.—Thirtieth Regiment.—First Foot Guards.—Dangerous Situation of the Duke.—His invincible Resolution.—General De Lancy.—Sir Alexander Gordon.—Lieutenant-Colonel Canning.—Captain Curzon.—Fury of Napoleon.—Approach of the Prussians.—Their skilful Position.—Attack of the Cavalry of the Guard.—Last Attack of the Infantry of the Guard.—Noble Gallantry of the British Guards.—Repulse of the French.—Advance of the British Lines.—Total Rout of the French.—Meeting of Wellington and Blucher.—Pursuit of the Prussians.—Dreadful Slaughter of the French.—Sensibility of the Duke of Wellington.—Humanity of the British Soldiers.—Loss of both Armies.—Review of the Battle, p. 59.

CHAPTER IV.

Flight of Napoleon.—Narrow Escape at Genappe.—Arrival at Paris.—State of Parties there.—Conference with the Ministers.—Determination not to dissolve the Chambers.—Fouché.—The Princess Hortensia.—The Council.—Tumultuous Meeting of the Deputies.—Decided Conduct of La Fayette.—Declaration of the Chamber that their Sitting was permanent.—Grand Council in the Evening.—Their Determination.—Agitation of the different Parties.—Meeting of the Deputies.—Motion for the Forfeiture of the Crown.—The Decision suspended for an Hour.—Irresolution of Napoleon.—Interview with Lucien.—Regnault.—Solignac.—Abdication of Napoleon.—Reflections on it, p. 108.

CHAPTER V.

Appointment of a Provisional Government.—Hesitation of the Peers to proclaim Napoleon II.—Indignation of Buonaparte.—Disposition of the Federates.—Indecision of Buonaparte. Napoleon II acknowledged by the Deputies.—Examination of the Propriety of this.—Retreat of Buonaparte to Malmaison.—New Tumults at Paris.—Departure of Buonaparte for Rochefort.—Commissioners sent from the Chambers to treat for Peace, .p. 187.

CHAPTER VI.

Affair at Wavre.—Success of General Grouchy.—His difficult Retreat.—Battle of Namur.—Operations of Blucher.—His Proclamation to the Army.—Excesses of the Prussians.—Operations of Lord Wellington.—Order of the Day.—Good Conduct of the British.—Connexion of Lewis with the Operations of the Allies.—Remarks on the Policy of it.—Sentiments of Blucher.—Capture of Cambray.—Advance of the King.—His Declaration.—Remarks on it, p. 226.

CHAPTER VII.

Progress of the Allies.—Journey of the Commissioners to Hauguenau.—State of Parties in Paris.—Unsuccessful Attempts of the French to obtain a Suspension of Arms.—Patriotism of the Representatives.—Siege of Paris.—Convention for its Surrender.—Popular Feeling at Paris.—Conduct of the Chambers.—Retirement of the Army.—Re-entry of the King, p. 261.

CHAPTER VIII.

Operation of the Bavarian, Austrian, and Russian Armies, p. 356.

CHAPTER IX.

Arrival of Buonaparte at Rochefort.—His Irresolution.—Attempts at Escape.—Surrender to the British.—His Conduct on board the Bellerophon.—Interesting Conversation.—The Question of his final Destination examined.—Determination of Ministers to send him to St. Helena.—His Conduct on receiving the Intelligence.—Protest against the Measure.—Another interesting Conversation.—His Departure from Torbay, and Arrival at St. Helena, p. 364.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

*** * *** The Binder is requested to place tissue-paper before the Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which is to face the Title-page of Vol. I.

The Maps to be carefully folded, that the folds may not interfere with the positions of the Troops.

Map of Belgium to face page 1. Vol. I.

Map of the Environs of Bruxelles, exhibiting the situation of the Armies on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th June, to face page 1. Vol. II.

Plan of the Battle of Waterloo, or Mont St. Jean, to face Title-page of Vol. II.

The Plates must not on any account be beaten with the Books, if they are ordered to be bound.

CHAPTER IX

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER

The Binder is requested to place tissue-paper before the Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which is to face the Title-page of Vol. I.

The Maps to be carefully folded, that the folds may not interfere with the positions of the Troops.

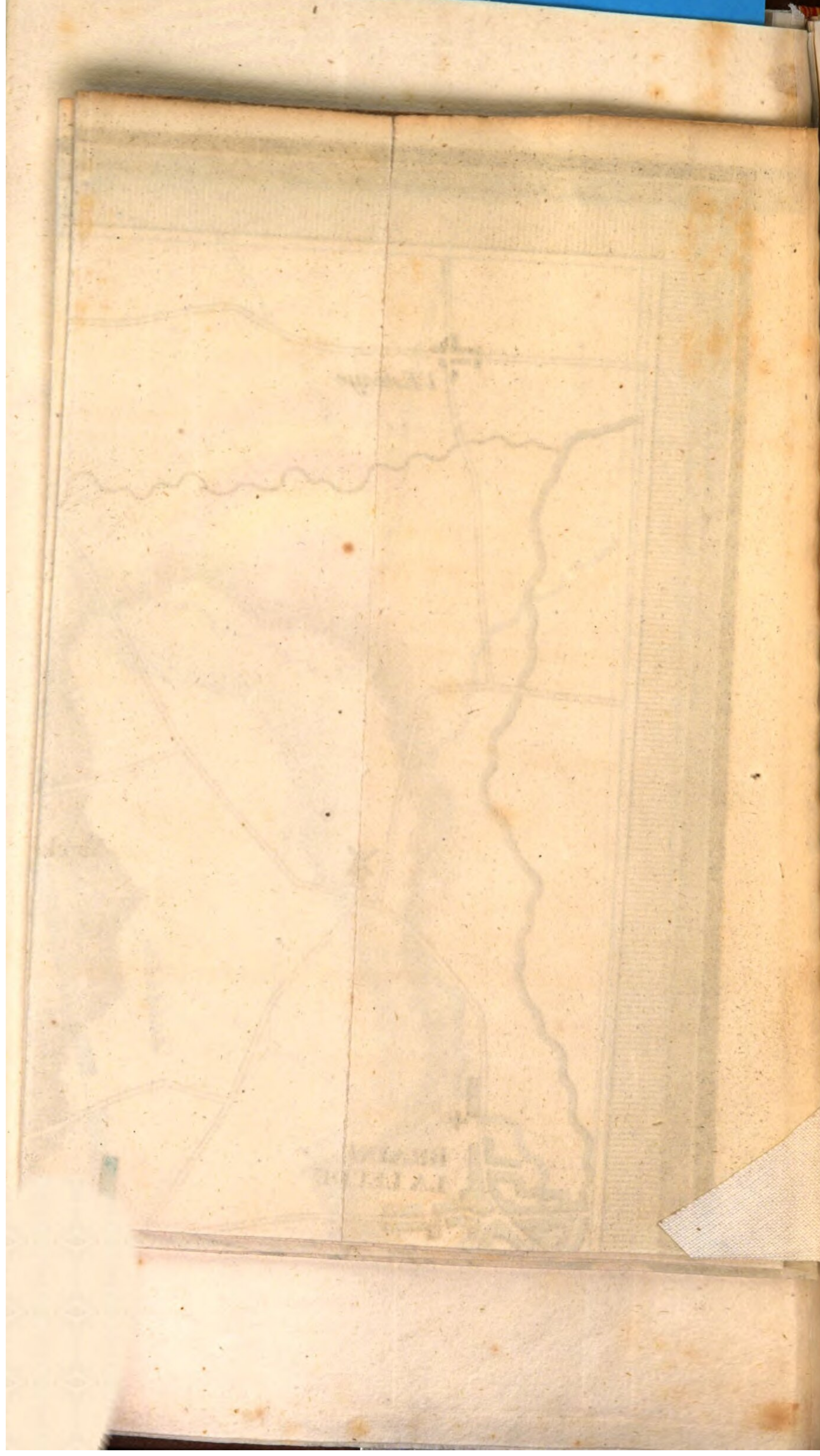
Map of Belgium to face page 1. Vol. I.

Map of the Positions of Brinkelles, exhibiting the situation of the Armies on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th June, to face page 1. Vol. II.

Plan of the Battle of Waterloo, or Mont St. Jean, to face Title-page of Vol. II.

The Plates must not on any account be beaten with the Book, if they are ordered to be bound.

Sketch
of the
BATTLE OF WATERLOO,
or
Mont St Jean,
June 18th 1815.



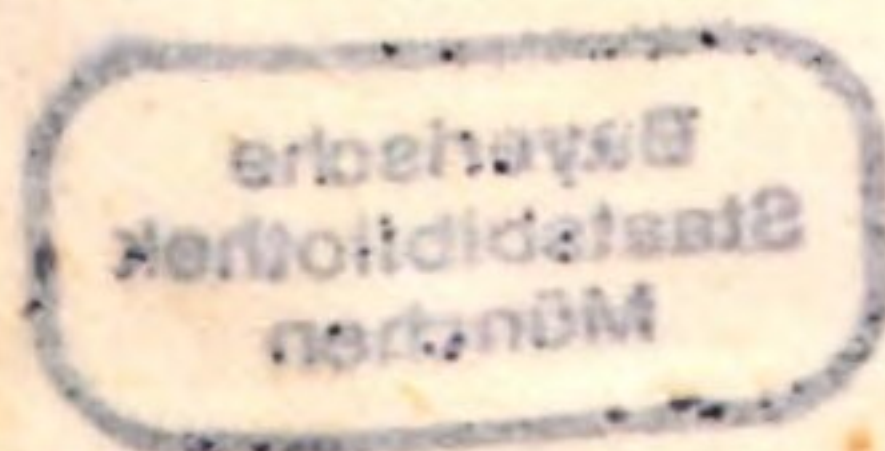
NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER. I.

Departure of Napoleon for the Army.—First Advantages of the French.—Battle of Quatre Bras.—The 42d Regiment.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Opportune Arrival of the Guards.—Retreat of the French.—The 28th Regiment.—Close of the Affair.—Death of the Duke of Brunswick.—Error of Napoleon.—Battle of Ligny.—Murderous Contention in the Village.—Repulse of the Prussians.—Danger of Blucher.—Consequences of the Battle.

ON the 13th of June at night Napoleon quitted Paris to place himself at the head of his troops, and advance on Belgium. The different corps had been united in the neighbourhood of Beaumont, and the Emperor found at his disposal one hundred and



twenty thousand of the best soldiers of France, of whom twenty-five thousand were cavalry, and supported by three hundred pieces of artillery.

Prince Blucher, with eighty thousand Prussians, occupied Charleroi, Givet, Namur, and the left bank of the Sambre; and General Bulow, with thirty thousand more, was cantoned in the country between Liege and Hannut.

The Duke of Wellington had his head quarters at Brussels, in the neighbourhood of which his army was so disposed that it might be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and directed on any point of the frontiers. The first corps was commanded by the Prince of Orange, and consisted of the first and third British divisions, under Generals Cooke and Alten, the first and second Hanoverian, and the second and third Belgian divisions. It occupied Enghein, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles. The second division, commanded by Lord Hill, included the second and fourth British divisions, under Generals Clinton and Hinuber, the third and sixth Hanoverian and the first Belgian, and was established at Ath, Oudenarde, and Grammont. The reserve comprised the fifth and sixth British under Generals Picton and Cole, and the fourth, fifth, and seventh Hanoverian divisions, and was stationed at Brussels and Ghent. The cavalry occupied Grammont and Ninove.

Thirty-eight thousand of these were British; the

German Legion consisted of eight thousand men, the Hanoverian troops comprised fourteen thousand five hundred men, and the Belgians, Brunswickers, and Nassau troops, amounted to twenty-two thousand, making a grand total of more than eighty-two thousand men, of whom about fifteen thousand were employed in garrison duty.

The advanced corps of the Russian army, which was destined to act on the left, was not expected to cross the Rhine at Mannheim in less than six or eight days.

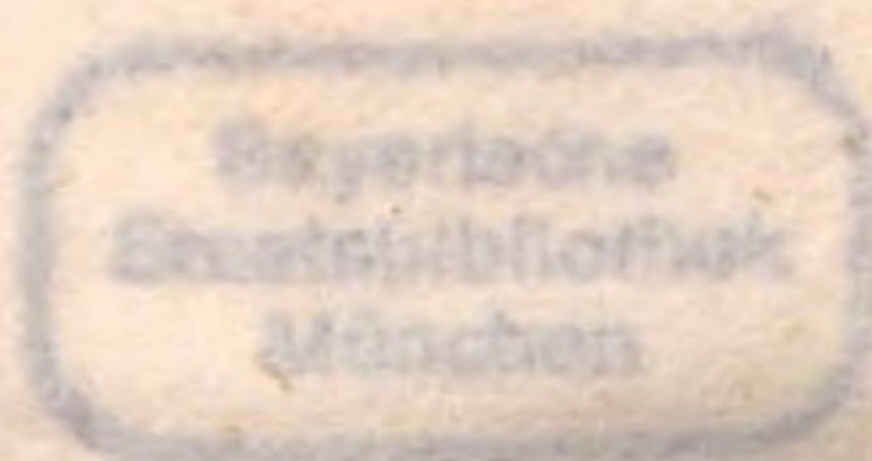
It would have been the policy of Napoleon to have attacked the British and Prussians before they had collected the formidable armies which now occupied Belgium. In the early part of the spring he might easily have directed on the frontiers a force which they would have been unable to resist. But he would have injured his popularity with the French had he commenced offensive operations until every overture for peace had failed; and when these overtures were made in vain, the insecure tenure by which he held the Imperial throne continued to detain him at Paris. He dared not to quit the capital until the Additional Act was accepted by the Champ-de-Mai, and he was acknowledged by the people Emperor of the French. His departure would have been the signal for every kind of intrigue. Fouché was already half alienated from him. Carnot appeared to be sincerely

attached to his cause, but he was at the head of a party who viewed Napoleon with a jealous eye, and who scarcely endeavoured to conceal that they merely considered him as the instrument by which they could best accomplish their ulterior views; nor did he know what might be the temper of the representatives whose election went on so slowly. The golden opportunity was therefore necessarily lost.

But when the Champ-de-Mai was past, and had not disappointed his wishes, and when the two chambers, though evidently determined to submit no longer to his arbitrary will, yet identified themselves with him as the only means of repelling the innumerable troops of foreigners who crowded towards the frontiers, and whose determination to humble, if not to dismember France, were more than suspected, he felt himself secure from internal commotion. He now delayed not another moment. He replied to the addresses of the chambers, and on the same evening set out for his army.

Arriving at Avesnes on the 14th, he issued the following proclamation, which was read at the head of every regiment:—

“Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of



Princes whom we left on the throne ! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men ?

Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six !

Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered.

The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, *the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine*, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of Princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable ? After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, it would devour the states of the second rank of Germany.

The madmen ! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter into France they will there find their tomb.

Soldiers ! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter ; but with steadiness, victory will be ours. The rights, the

honour, the happiness of the country will be reconquered!

To every Frenchman who has a heart the moment is arrived to conquer or perish."

The troops replied to this energetic address with one universal shout, and eagerly demanded to be led to the combat. Never did France send into the field a finer or braver army than that which Napoleon now commanded. It was composed almost entirely of veterans. A great proportion had returned from foreign prisons, and were eager to avenge their former disgrace. They were enthusiastically devoted to their leader: and though numerically inferior to the combined British and Prussian armies, Napoleon entertained the most sanguine expectations of beating them separately, and cutting them off in detail. His movements were effected with great skill. They excited no suspicion in the enemy. The army was concentrated at Beaumont, as it were by magic, and the allies were completely taken by surprise.

Ney was the only one of the old marshals who had any command in this army. Soult accompanied Napoleon as Major-general, and Grouchy, who commanded the right wing, had been raised to the rank of marshal since the return of Napoleon. Incredible pains were taken to induce Macdonald to accept an important command. Davoust was sent from Paris with express orders

to leave no means untried to accomplish this object; but Macdonald was cold, and determined. At the close of their conversation Davoust said to him, "that when the danger increased, if not the love of the Emperor, yet his honour would cause him to embrace the cause of his country." To this the marshal replied, clapping him on the shoulder, "that he did not want him to teach him the laws of honour."

On the 15th at break of day, the advanced posts of the Prussians were attacked near Thuin, and being overwhelmed by superior numbers were repulsed as far as Marchienne-au-Pont. In this retreat they suffered considerable loss from the numerous cavalry of the French. At Marchienne and at Charleroi, they made a stand and attempted to defend the passage of the Sambre, but being closely pressed, they were unable to destroy the bridges. Napoleon commanded the attack on Charleroi in person, and the town was taken and retaken several times, but about noon the French established themselves in it, having already advanced fifteen miles.

The second French corps, commanded by Marshal Ney, which had effected its passage at Marchienne, proceeded towards Gosselies on the road to Brussels, and pushing forward a strong advanced guard, repulsed a regiment of Belgians posted at Frasn . The third corps continued the

pursuit of the Prussians, who retreated in good order to Fleurus.

Having here received considerable reinforcements, and Blucher now commanding in person, it was determined to retreat no further. The French made many impetuous attacks on this position, and the contest was continued with alternate and equal success until sunset, when the French retired towards Charleroi, where Napoleon established his head-quarters, and Blucher occupied his former position at Sombref, five miles north of Fleurus.

The result of these various engagements was decidedly in favour of the French. More than a thousand prisoners fell into their hands. The passage of the Sambre was accomplished, and Charleroi was gained with its valuable magazines. But the principal advantage was that the campaign had opened with eclat. The soldiers were induced to believe that they were once more invincible. Their former confidence in their leader returned. They were again ready to follow him to the cannon's mouth, and they confidently anticipated the most favourable result.

Napoleon, as usual, profited as much as possible by this partial success. The most exaggerated statements of it were published. The prisoners were hastily collected and marched in columns on the routes by which the other corps

were advancing. They were viewed with transport by the troops in the rear. Shouts of "The Emperor for ever!" rent the air, and the soldiers hastened forward to share in the glory of their comrades.

The Duke of Wellington was sitting at his desk, and most of the British officers were at a grand ball given by the Duchess of Richmond, when intelligence arrived at Brussels of the advance of the French. The despatches of Blucher represented it as an affair of the out-posts, likely to lead to nothing of importance. Orders were immediately issued that the troops should be ready to march at a moment's notice, and the arrival of another courier was anxiously expected. At midnight he came on a horse covered with foam announcing that the affair had become serious,—that Charleroi was taken, that the French had advanced to the very position which Blucher had determined to defend behind Fleurus, and that a general engagement was expected to take place on the succeeding day.

The drum immediately beat to arms, and in less than three hours every regiment was on the road to Charleroi. Many of the officers were yet in their ball dresses, which neither the hurry of their march, nor their anxiety to occupy their respective posts had given them time to change.

The Duke of Wellington, attended by his staff and some squadrons of light horse, proceeded on

the gallop to a farm called Quatre Bras, on the road to Gosselies. This position was of considerable importance, as it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, by which Lord Wellington communicated with the Prussians at Sombref. A detachment under the Prince of Weimar had retreated hither on the preceding evening, having been driven from the ground which it occupied between Quatre Bras and Frasn , but being afterwards reinforced by the Prince of Orange, it was again established in its former position.

Having arrived in front of Quatre Bras, the Duke of Wellington ordered the troops of the Prince of Weimar to fall back and join him, while he awaited the coming up of the regiments from Brussels, and prepared to repel the attack which he had no doubt the enemy would soon make.

The first and second corps of the French army, under the command of Marshal Ney, were ordered to advance on Quatre Bras, and attack the position of the British, while Napoleon in person, with his whole remaining force, directed himself upon the Prussians. Ney executed his orders with great skill and intrepidity, and leaving the first corps at Frasn , advanced to the combat with the second, and as only the second and fifth divisions of the British army had arrived, succeeded in making considerable impression.

Profiting by their numerical superiority, the French attacked some battalions who were separated from the main body, and almost annihilated them. A corps of Belgians was ordered to advance with the forty-second Highland regiment to support a detachment which was briskly pushed by the French. Whether occasioned by the ardour with which the British rushed to the fight, or the slowness and reluctance with which the Belgians followed, the two battalions were separated. A column of French lancers, who were lying in ambush concealed by some hedges and high standing corn, and who could not be seen till they were close on the British, suddenly rushed upon them. Colonel Macara promptly ordered the regiment, which was advancing in column, to form itself into a square. In performing this evolution, two companies were left out, or rather, were in the act of falling in, when the lancers charged upon them, and in a moment overwhelmed, and literally annihilated them. Encouraged by this, they charged on the square, and though repulsed with loss, succeeded in cutting down great numbers of the Highlanders. The brave Colonel was among the killed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dick now assumed the command, although he had been wounded in the shoulder by a musket bullet. He rallied the regiment, formed them into a diminished square, and awaited another attack. The lancers again

rushed desperately on them, and although once more repulsed, did too much execution. The Lieutenant-Colonel fainted from loss of blood, and was carried from the field. The next senior officer assumed the command. Not a man thought of retreating or yielding. Again the lancers precipitated themselves on the Highlanders ; and it was not until the gallant regiment was reduced to less than a tenth of its original number, that the enemy was put to flight.

The Prince of Orange, advancing too far, in the ardour of the fight, was surrounded and made prisoner ; but a battalion of Belgians, seeing his danger, rushed to his relief, and in a moment rescued him from the enemy. The Prince tore off the insignia of his order, and threw it among the soldiers, exclaiming, " There, my brave fellows ! you have all deserved it." They immediately fastened the star to their colours, and shouting, " The Prince for ever !" swore to defend it to the last man. They were at that moment exposed to a galling fire, and many of them fell as they were pronouncing the oath.

Protected by their numerous cavalry and artillery, the French succeeded in forcing the British positions, and penetrated to the village of Quatre Bras. The Duke of Wellington was undismayed. He stationed himself in an open part of the plain, in the very hottest of the fire, where he could be distinctly seen by both armies, and there issued

his orders with as much coolness and precision, as if his troops were manœuvring at a review.

Some squadrons of Brunswick horse had in vain attempted to stem the torrent. They rapidly retreated along the high road through the village, and were closely pursued by the French cuirassiers, when the ninety-second regiment, which lined a ditch bordering the road, poured on the French, who were almost at the muzzles of their guns, an unexpected volley which destroyed every man in the direction of their fire, and made a complete chasm between the front and rear ranks of the squadrons which were galloping by. The few who were in advance dashed on. They reached the spot on which the Duke was posted, and rushed on him and his staff; but they were, to a man, either killed or taken. The rear of the enemy disconcerted by this unexpected reception, turned their horses and fled. The ninety-second now leaped from the ditch to charge in their turn. As they rose, a volley was poured upon them by a mass of French infantry at a little distance. The staff of the regimental colours was shattered to pieces, and the ensign shot through the heart. The British infantry cheered and advanced. A little further on was a house, with a garden on the opposite side of the road. These were occupied by the enemy, who, protected by the enclosure and the walls, kept up a tremendous fire on the British as they approached. The impetuosity of

attached to his cause, but he was at the head of a party who viewed Napoleon with a jealous eye, and who scarcely endeavoured to conceal that they merely considered him as the instrument by which they could best accomplish their ulterior views ; nor did he know what might be the temper of the representatives whose election went on so slowly. The golden opportunity was therefore necessarily lost.

But when the Champ-de-Mai was past, and had not disappointed his wishes, and when the two chambers, though evidently determined to submit no longer to his arbitrary will, yet identified themselves with him as the only means of repelling the innumerable troops of foreigners who crowded towards the frontiers, and whose determination to humble, if not to dismember France, were more than suspected, he felt himself secure from internal commotion. He now delayed not another moment. He replied to the addresses of the chambers, and on the same evening set out for his army.

Arriving at Avesnes on the 14th, he issued the following proclamation, which was read at the head of every regiment :—

“ Soldiers !—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous ! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of

Princes whom we left on the throne ! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men ?

Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six !

Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered.

The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of Princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable ? After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, it would devour the states of the second rank of Germany.

The madmen ! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter into France they will there find their tomb.

Soldiers ! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter ; but with steadiness, victory will be ours. The rights, the

honour, the happiness of the country will be reconquered!

To every Frenchman who has a heart the moment is arrived to conquer or perish."

The troops replied to this energetic address with one universal shout, and eagerly demanded to be led to the combat. Never did France send into the field a finer or braver army than that which Napoleon now commanded. It was composed almost entirely of veterans. A great proportion had returned from foreign prisons, and were eager to avenge their former disgrace. They were enthusiastically devoted to their leader: and though numerically inferior to the combined British and Prussian armies, Napoleon entertained the most sanguine expectations of beating them separately, and cutting them off in detail. His movements were effected with great skill. They excited no suspicion in the enemy. The army was concentrated at Beaumont, as it were by magic, and the allies were completely taken by surprise.

Ney was the only one of the old marshals who had any command in this army. Soult accompanied Napoleon as Major-general, and Grouchy, who commanded the right wing, had been raised to the rank of marshal since the return of Napoleon. Incredible pains were taken to induce Macdonald to accept an important command. Davoust was sent from Paris with express orders

to leave no means untried to accomplish this object; but Macdonald was cold, and determined. At the close of their conversation Davoust said to him, “that when the danger increased, if not the love of the Emperor, yet his honour would cause him to embrace the cause of his country.” To this the marshal replied, clapping him on the shoulder, “that he did not want him to teach him the laws of honour.”

On the 15th at break of day, the advanced posts of the Prussians were attacked near Thuin, and being overwhelmed by superior numbers were repulsed as far as Marchienne-au-Pont. In this retreat they suffered considerable loss from the numerous cavalry of the French. At Marchienne and at Charleroi, they made a stand and attempted to defend the passage of the Sambre, but being closely pressed, they were unable to destroy the bridges. Napoleon commanded the attack on Charleroi in person, and the town was taken and retaken several times, but about noon the French established themselves in it, having already advanced fifteen miles.

The second French corps, commanded by Marshal Ney, which had effected its passage at Marchienne, proceeded towards Gosselies on the road to Brussels, and pushing forward a strong advanced guard, repulsed a regiment of Belgians posted at Frasné. The third corps continued the

pursuit of the Prussians, who retreated in good order to Fleurus.

Having here received considerable reinforcements, and Blucher now commanding in person, it was determined to retreat no further. The French made many impetuous attacks on this position, and the contest was continued with alternate and equal success until sunset, when the French retired towards Charleroi, where Napoleon established his head-quarters, and Blucher occupied his former position at Sombref, five miles north of Fleurus.

The result of these various engagements was decidedly in favour of the French. More than a thousand prisoners fell into their hands. The passage of the Sambre was accomplished, and Charleroi was gained with its valuable magazines. But the principal advantage was that the campaign had opened with éclat. The soldiers were induced to believe that they were once more invincible. Their former confidence in their leader returned. They were again ready to follow him to the cannon's mouth, and they confidently anticipated the most favourable result.

Napoleon, as usual, profited as much as possible by this partial success. The most exaggerated statements of it were published. The prisoners were hastily collected and marched in columns on the routes by which the other corps

were advancing. They were viewed with transport by the troops in the rear. Shouts of "The Emperor for ever!" rent the air, and the soldiers hastened forward to share in the glory of their comrades.

The Duke of Wellington was sitting at his desert, and most of the British officers were at a grand ball given by the Duchess of Richmond, when intelligence arrived at Brussels of the advance of the French. The despatches of Blucher represented it as an affair of the out-posts, likely to lead to nothing of importance. Orders were immediately issued that the troops should be ready to march at a moment's notice, and the arrival of another courier was anxiously expected. At midnight he came on a horse covered with foam announcing that the affair had become serious,—that Charleroi was taken, that the French had advanced to the very position which Blucher had determined to defend behind Fleurus, and that a general engagement was expected to take place on the succeeding day.

The drum immediately beat to arms, and in less than three hours every regiment was on the road to Charleroi. Many of the officers were yet in their ball dresses, which neither the hurry of their march, nor their anxiety to occupy their respective posts had given them time to change.

The Duke of Wellington, attended by his staff and some squadrons of light horse, proceeded on

the gallop to a farm called Quatre Bras, on the road to Gosselies. This position was of considerable importance, as it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, by which Lord Wellington communicated with the Prussians at Sombref. A detachment under the Prince of Weimar had retreated hither on the preceding evening, having been driven from the ground which it occupied between Quatre Bras and Frasn , but being afterwards reinforced by the Prince of Orange, it was again established in its former position.

Having arrived in front of Quatre Bras, the Duke of Wellington ordered the troops of the Prince of Weimar to fall back and join him, while he awaited the coming up of the regiments from Brussels, and prepared to repel the attack which he had no doubt the enemy would soon make.

The first and second corps of the French army, under the command of Marshal Ney, were ordered to advance on Quatre Bras, and attack the position of the British, while Napoleon in person, with his whole remaining force, directed himself upon the Prussians. Ney executed his orders with great skill and intrepidity, and leaving the first corps at Frasn , advanced to the combat with the second, and as only the second and fifth divisions of the British army had arrived, succeeded in making considerable impression.

Profiting by their numerical superiority, the French attacked some battalions who were separated from the main body, and almost annihilated them. A corps of Belgians was ordered to advance with the forty-second Highland regiment to support a detachment which was briskly pushed by the French. Whether occasioned by the ardour with which the British rushed to the fight, or the slowness and reluctance with which the Belgians followed, the two battalions were separated. A column of French lancers, who were lying in ambush concealed by some hedges and high standing corn, and who could not be seen till they were close on the British, suddenly rushed upon them. Colonel Macara promptly ordered the regiment, which was advancing in column, to form itself into a square. In performing this evolution, two companies were left out, or rather, were in the act of falling in, when the lancers charged upon them, and in a moment overwhelmed, and literally annihilated them. Encouraged by this, they charged on the square, and though repulsed with loss, succeeded in cutting down great numbers of the Highlanders. The brave Colonel was among the killed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dick now assumed the command, although he had been wounded in the shoulder by a musket bullet. He rallied the regiment, formed them into a diminished square, and awaited another attack. The lancers again

rushed desperately on them, and although once more repulsed, did too much execution. The Lieutenant-Colonel fainted from loss of blood, and was carried from the field. The next senior officer assumed the command. Not a man thought of retreating or yielding. Again the lancers precipitated themselves on the Highlanders; and it was not until the gallant regiment was reduced to less than a tenth of its original number, that the enemy was put to flight.

The Prince of Orange, advancing too far, in the ardour of the fight, was surrounded and made prisoner; but a battalion of Belgians, seeing his danger, rushed to his relief, and in a moment rescued him from the enemy. The Prince tore off the insignia of his order, and threw it among the soldiers, exclaiming, "There, my brave fellows! you have all deserved it." They immediately fastened the star to their colours, and shouting, "The Prince for ever!" swore to defend it to the last man. They were at that moment exposed to a galling fire, and many of them fell as they were pronouncing the oath.

Protected by their numerous cavalry and artillery, the French succeeded in forcing the British positions, and penetrated to the village of Quatre Bras. The Duke of Wellington was undismayed. He stationed himself in an open part of the plain, in the very hottest of the fire, where he could be distinctly seen by both armies, and there issued

his orders with as much coolness and precision, as if his troops were manœuvring at a review.

Some squadrons of Brunswick horse had in vain attempted to stem the torrent. They rapidly retreated along the high road through the village, and were closely pursued by the French cuirassiers, when the ninety-second regiment, which lined a ditch bordering the road, poured on the French, who were almost at the muzzles of their guns, an unexpected volley which destroyed every man in the direction of their fire, and made a complete chasm between the front and rear ranks of the squadrons which were galloping by. The few who were in advance dashed on. They reached the spot on which the Duke was posted, and rushed on him and his staff; but they were, to a man, either killed or taken. The rear of the enemy disconcerted by this unexpected reception, turned their horses and fled. The ninety-second now leaped from the ditch to charge in their turn. As they rose, a volley was poured upon them by a mass of French infantry at a little distance. The staff of the regimental colours was shattered to pieces, and the ensign shot through the heart. The British infantry cheered and advanced. A little further on was a house, with a garden on the opposite side of the road. These were occupied by the enemy, who, protected by the enclosure and the walls, kept up a tremendous fire on the British as they approached. The impetuosity of

the ninety-second was not to be restrained; the garden and the house were speedily cleared, and the enemy pursued to the skirt of a wood. But in this short space of time they had sustained a loss of three hundred men. Four commanding officers were successively wounded and carried off the field, and the regiment was now separated from the rest of the line, and reluctantly compelled to retire.

At the same time the thirty-third regiment, after suffering severely from the enemy's artillery, was broken by a charge of cavalry, and driven with immense loss into the wood of Bossu. The French followed them with impetuosity, and were rapidly making themselves masters of the wood, when, most fortunately, the first division, consisting of the guards, arrived on the field of battle. They had marched nearly twelve hours without intermission, and though worn out with hunger and fatigue, immediately formed into line, charged into the wood, arrested the progress of the enemy, and drove him again into the plain. But in penetrating through the forest their line had become irregular and broken, and on emerging into the open ground they found a division of French infantry drawn up ready to receive them. Flushed with success, the guards waited not to reform their line, but darted forwards to the new combat; and the French, imagining that they should easily repulse an attack so irregular, refused not to engage.

The contest was short but severe. The French recoiled from the shock, and were pursued up the rising ground, when the cavalry of Ney, perceiving that the English division was unsupported, charged upon them. All attempts to form a square were in vain, and their only safety consisted in rapidly retiring to the forest. This was effected with considerable loss. Protected by the wood, they rallied and poured on the cavalry, which closely pursued them, a destructive fire, that arrested their progress, and sent them in disorder from the field.

The guards again advanced to the attack of the infantry, which had now occupied its former ground. Again the enemy was unable to stand before them ; and once more pushing on too far in the eagerness of pursuit, the cavalry rushed on them as before, and drove them back to the wood. A corps of Brunswickers now joined the British, and advancing together, they finally succeeded in compelling the enemy to retreat.

Although overpowered by superior numbers, the Duke of Wellington had obstinately contested every inch of ground. By the arrival of the guards he was enabled to act on the offensive. The enemy was driven from every position which it had gained. The whole French line was intimidated, and could with difficulty preserve itself from being broken. The danger was imminent. Ney sent in haste for the first corps, when, to his

utter astonishment, he was informed that Napoleon had already disposed of it, to enable him to carry the position of the Prussians at Sombref.

For a moment he gave himself up to despair. All his plans were disordered, and the day was inevitably lost: but recalling all his self-possession and skill, he brought into action the whole of the reserve of the second corps, and led them himself to the charge. The French cuirassiers advanced with much courage, but they were unable to withstand the cool intrepidity of the British troops, and receiving a galling and murderous fire from some infantry who lined the wood, they turned their horses and fled.

The twenty-eighth regiment now distinguished itself. It was attacked by a numerous body of cuirassiers and lancers, and being promptly formed into a square, long continued to fire from three sides at the same time, on one of which the lancers presented themselves, and on the two others, the cuirassiers. In vain the cavalry repeatedly and desperately charged upon them. As the front ranks were pierced by the sabres or lances of their horsemen, their places were instantly supplied, and as their numbers diminished, the square was gradually lessened; but not for a moment were they disordered; not one opening was left for the cavalry to penetrate, and at length, by their incessant, deliberate, and murderous fire, they succeeded in completely repulsing their as-

sailants. Many squadrons of the enemy, however, yet hovered round them, and it would have been dangerous to have deployed. They therefore advanced in square against a mass of infantry, and in an instant pierced their centre and routed them; then deploying, they charged in line, and cleared the whole front of a cloud of skirmishers, which covered the retreat of the main body. The terror of the French was now complete. All was in confusion. The baggage, the camp-followers, and the wounded who had been sent into the rear, imagined that the fate of the day was decided, and crowded the road to Charleroi.

The division of cuirassiers of General Roussel then presented itself, and held the British advanced troops in check. The infantry had time to rally. It formed itself into squares, and retired as far as Frasn , where it again halted. The British promptly pursued, and attempted by numerous determined charges to carry the heights, but the French fought with desperation, and maintained their position. The engagement continued with various success until the close of day, when the first corps of the French army, of which Napoleon had made no use, returned to Frasn , and the British cavalry arrived from Niuove. It was too late for either party to avail themselves of these reinforcements, and they bivouacked on the positions which they respectively occupied.

This battle was attended with no result, but it

was most honourable to the British arms. During the greater part of the day the Duke of Wellington contended against infinitely superior numbers. His artillery had not arrived, and at no time had he more than a few squadrons to oppose to the crowd of cuirassiers and lancers who galloped round the British squares, and availed themselves of the slightest disorder to break in upon and overwhelm the infantry. The divisions were likewise separately engaged, and they advanced to the combat fatigued by a long and hasty march, and without having tasted refreshment since the preceding day.

The loss on both sides was enormous, and nearly equal. The Allies acknowledged a loss of nearly four thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the French a loss of four thousand two hundred *. The number of prisoners was inconsiderable on either side.

Among the killed of the allied army was the Duke of Brunswick, who fell as he was courageously leading his troops to a desperate charge. He had entered on the campaign with almost chivalrous ardour, and had sworn to avenge the

* A gasconading account appeared in the French papers. One writer says, "A British division of five or six thousand Scots were cut to pieces. The noble lord must be confounded. There were on the field eight enemies to one Frenchman. Their loss (including probably the Prussians as well as the English) is said to be fifty thousand men."

death of his father who fell in the unfortunate battle of Jena. He had lately returned from England to take possession of the dominions of his ancestors, and on the first news of the landing of Napoleon, had hastened with his celebrated black hussars, and other regiments to join the ranks of the Allies. He led in person every charge of cavalry during this well-fought day. He was scarcely engaged ere a severe wound caused him, for a moment, to retire to the rear; a handkerchief was bound round it, and he returned to the head of his men, who were beginning to waver, and exhorting them to fight bravely for their prince and their country, led them back to the charge. A slight wound, which he immediately afterwards received, was disregarded.

Another of his regiments was ordered to advance, the Duke was again found at the post of honour and gallantly cheered them on. Another slight wound, and after that another severe and even dangerous one checked not his ardour, and it was not until the corps of the enemy to which he was now opposed was dispersed, that he would permit a dressing to be applied. This was scarcely completed, when the enemy again advanced in force, and threatened to overwhelm one of the British divisions. He once more placed himself at the head of his men, and conducted them to a more desperate charge than they had yet attempted, when a musket bullet laid his breast open, and stretched

him on the field. His death was nobly avenged by his own regiment of hussars in the battle of the 18th.

Had not Napoleon deprived Ney of the co-operation of the first corps, consisting of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, not all the military talents and determined courage of the Duke of Wellington could have prevented the most fatal results. This appears to have been an inexcusable and irreparable error.

The only hope which Napoleon could reasonably form of success depended upon his engaging and crushing the Prussian and English forces separately. When he passed the Sambre a corps of observation should have been left to keep one in check, while he directed his concentrated force on the other. But by nearly dividing his army, and ordering Ney to attack the British, while he pursued the Prussians, he exposed himself to far superior forces, and nothing but the devotion and gallantry of his troops could have procured him the success which attended his operations on the 16th. When it was too late, he seems to have been aware of his error; and on the 16th when the engagement he had commenced with the Prussians was doubtful, he sent in great haste for the first corps which constituted more than half Ney's army, and was posted in reserve, while he committed the unpardonable oversight of not acquainting that general of the use he had made

of the troops to which Ney looked for support. Had a courier been despatched to him, commanding him merely to observe the British, and to act entirely on the defensive, while Napoleon directed all his powerful masses on Blucher, who was yet unsupported by Bulow, the danger to which Ney was exposed might have been prevented, the Prussian general must have been overwhelmed and almost annihilated, and the left flank of the British being exposed, he might have thrown himself on their rear with decisive effect.

When the first corps arrived at Ligny the battle had already turned in the Emperor's favour. It was evident that the Prussians were yielding and must retreat. It was then the undoubted policy of Napoleon, to have pressed with these new troops on the weakened and wavering battalions of the enemy. A well-conducted retreat would have been changed to a disorderly flight, and the whole army of Blucher would have been put *hors de combat*. But satisfied with the advantages which he had gained, or which appeared to him certain, and eager to repair his error in weakening Ney without informing him of the change in the disposition of the troops, he ordered the first corps to return to their former position, though they might now have been highly serviceable to himself, and could not possibly be useful to the marshal. They again arrived at Frasn  at ten o'clock when the

combat was over. "Thus," as Marshal Ney properly remarks, "twenty-five or thirty thousand men were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the right to the left, and from the left to the right without firing a shot." This error was decisive of the fate of the campaign*.

Blucher in the night of the 15th had retired from Fleurus and established himself at Sombref, occupying with a large force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny situated in the front†. His army consisted of eighty thousand men. Although the fourth corps was not yet in line, he determined to risk a battle here, as the situation was advantageous. Wellington would make a powerful diversion on his right, and he was confident that the fourth corps would join him during the action.

On the morning of the 16th Napoleon advanced against him, with the third, fourth, and sixth corps of the French army, the guards, and a numerous division of cavalry, amounting likewise to about eighty thousand men. The morning was employed in reconnoitring the ground and indecisive skirmishing. At three o'clock in the afternoon the dispositions of the French were completed, and the engagement began.

* Memorial to the Duke of Otranto.

† See the Map of the environs of Brussels.

The division of General Le Fol attacked the village of St. Amand, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried it at the point of the bayonet. General Giraud then proceeded to the attack of Ligny, and here a murderous scene commenced, which had never been equalled in any of the former contests between the Prussians and the French. The troops of Napoleon succeeded in establishing themselves in part of the village, and while all their efforts could not drive the Prussians from the remaining part, the most desperate attacks of the Prussians were unavailing to dislodge their opponents. Every house was fortified. Every hedge became a military position. The combatants were in contact with each other. They had scarcely room to manœuvre, and as the ranks were thinned on either side, the void was filled with fresh troops.

This scene continued during four or five hours. The village could never be said to be taken by the French, nor could the Prussians boast that for an instant they had driven the enemy from it. The soldiers on both sides fought with an animosity which disgraced the present civilized age of the world. It appeared as if they were animated by the deadliest personal hatred. For a long time, quarter was neither given nor taken, and during the whole of the afternoon nearly two hundred pieces of cannon were playing on the

village*, and scattering destruction amid the troops, who in close columns filled every avenue to the place. At length the ground for which they contested was piled with dead, which formed a kind of breastwork and defence for the combatants.

While the battle raged hottest round this village, the whole line was engaged with various success. At one time victory inclined to the Prussians. Blucher led on a battalion of infantry in person, and dispossessed the French of the village of St. Amand. Following up his advantage, he seized on a height whence the Prussians had been driven in an early part of the day, and having once more established his batteries there,

* On his return from France Blucher called on the miller at Ligny, whose premises had been the scene of the most obstinate contention, and all whose little property was completely destroyed. Blucher was plainly dressed and the miller did not recognize him. He asked him many questions concerning his losses and his present situation. The miller replied that the war had reduced him and his family to misery, and that he was unable to pay his contributions. Blucher asked their amount. Eighty francs was the reply. They were immediately given to the peasant, and the hero departed. On his arrival at Namur Blucher remitted him one hundred and eighty francs more, and it was then only that the miller learned from the messenger the name of his benefactor. "His generosity honours him," said the grateful Fleming, as he related the circumstance, "his modesty ennobles him, and my heart thanks him."

played with most destructive effect on the squares of the French. It was at this moment that Buonaparte despatched that order for the advance of the first corps, which paralyzed the efforts of Ney, and had nearly exposed his troops to destruction. Napoleon saw the importance of regaining this position, and column after column was despatched against it. The Prussians were again compelled to retire, and the French possessed themselves of the church-yard of St. Amand, whence they could not afterwards be dislodged.

The fortune of the day was now evidently in favour of Napoleon. All the reserves of Blucher were in action, while the imperial guard of the French, and an immense body of cavalry had not yet been engaged. It was nearly dusk. Favoured by this circumstance a strong division of French infantry had made a circuit round the village, and, while a column of chasseurs made a desperate charge in front, took the main body of the Prussians in the rear. At the same time the cavalry of the French repulsed that of the Prussians on the heights before the village. These manœuvres were decisive. The Prussians evacuated Ligny in good order, and forming themselves into squares, presented an unbroken front to the fierce pursuit of the French. Had the first corps of the French army been retained, and now directed on the battalions of the Prussians fatigued, disheartened, and retiring, the victory would have been complete.

The Prussians slowly retreated, and often turned upon their foes, and repulsed their repeated and impetuous charges. On the heights near the mill of Bussy they halted, and attempted to repair the fortune of the day. Napoleon directed upon them his formidable guards, who had not yet been in action. They advanced with bayonets fixed, and carried all before them.

In one of the charges of cavalry which now took place, Blucher was exposed to most imminent danger. He had led on one of the regiments in person. The charge had failed, and the enemy was vigorously pursuing. The marshal's horse was struck by a musket ball and dropped. Blucher was stunned by the violence of the fall. Ere he recovered, the French cavalry advanced. The last Prussian horseman had passed by, and an adjutant alone remained with him, determined to share his fate. The French cuirassiers charged by him at full speed, but perceived him not in the ardour of their pursuit, and fortunately he was uninjured by their horses. Before the recollection of the marshal had returned the French were repulsed, and again dashed by him without seeing him. He was now extricated from his horse, and with difficulty mounted on another; when, disregarding the acute pain of his bruises, he again placed himself at the head of his troops and directed their manœuvres.

The whole of the Prussian army was now in full retreat, and at ten o'clock the firing had com-

pletely ceased. The French did not deem it prudent to continue the pursuit, but bivouacked on the ground which they had hardly and bravely won.

The Prussians lost more than twenty thousand men in this sanguinary engagement. Forty pieces of cannon were taken and several colours. The French bulletins confess a loss of three thousand men, but the actual number was at least four times as great.

The most exaggerated statements of the affair were transmitted to Paris. Marshal Soult, in a despatch to Davoust, says, "The Emperor has succeeded in separating the line of the allies. Wellington and Blucher saved themselves with difficulty. The effect was theatrical. In an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions."

Another despatch, speaking of the two battles, says, "The noble lord must have been confounded. Whole bands of prisoners are taken. They do not know what is become of their commanders. The route is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not hear again of the Prussians for some time, even if they should ever be able to rally. As for the English, we shall see now what will become of them. The Emperor is there!"

The principal advantage which Napoleon gained by this murderous conflict, was the confi-

dence which it gave his troops, and the separation of the armies of Blucher and Wellington. This was rendered so complete that he thought it necessary to detach only a small force under General Grouchy to follow and watch the motions of the Prussians, while with the main body of his army he formed a junction with Ney, and attacked the Duke of Wellington. But he had suffered the favourable opportunity to pass. The British, Hanoverian, and Belgic troops were now united. The artillery and cavalry had come up, and although they were not equal to him in numbers, the combat would certainly be doubtful. Had he attacked the Duke of Wellington at first, instead of Blucher, or had he suffered the first corps to remain with Ney, the British would have been taken unconcentrated and unprepared, and would have afforded a comparatively easy prey.

The villages of Brie and Sombref remained with the Prussians at the close of the engagement, but at day-break on the following morning Blucher evacuated them, and retired without molestation to Gembloux, where the fourth corps under General Bulow had now arrived. Thence he continued his retreat to Wavre, where he took an advantageous position on the night of the 17th, and again opened a communication with the English army.

CHAPTER II.

*Retreat of the Duke of Wellington to Waterloo ;—
Affair at Genappe ;—Interesting Letter of Lord
Anglesea ;—Positions and Forces of the two
Armies ;—Dreadful Night before the Battle ;—
Character of the Commanders ;—Importance of
the Contest ;—First Attack on Hougoumont ;—
Noble Resistance of the Guards ;—Repulse of the
French ;—Second Attack on the left ;—Fall of
Sir T. Picton ;—Gallantry of the 92d,—Scotch
Greys ;—Sir W. Ponsonby ;—Third Attack on
the Centre ;—La Haye Sainte taken by the French ;
—Desperate Charge of the whole of the French
Cavalry ;—Gallantry of the Duke ;—Repulse of
the French.*

THE troops of the Duke of Wellington were under arms at three o'clock on the morning of the 17th, and many skirmishes took place between the out-posts. The Brunswick and Belgian troops were on the right, the guards in the centre, and the third and fifth divisions on the left, with the cavalry in the rear. In this position, the Duke, pursuing his favourite system of tactics, awaited

the attack of the enemy. He had determined, however, when all his artillery and cavalry had arrived to become the assailant.

The intermediate time was employed in bringing in the wounded and burying the dead. The officers of the guards were committed to the ground at the edge of the wood which they had so nobly carried, and were surrounded by the numerous graves of those whom they had commanded, and who had shared with them in the honours of the day. As a brother officer impressively read the funeral service over them, the romantic beauty of the country, the wildness and stillness which prevailed around, the mournful silence of the soldiers, and the tears which some of the officers did not disdain to shed, produced a scene highly affecting and sublime.

At ten o'clock intelligence arrived of the retreat of Blucher on Wavre. A courier had been despatched on the preceding evening, but he was intercepted by the enemy.

Secure from attack on his right, it was probable that Napoleon would now direct the whole weight of his force on the British position. All Lord Wellington's divisions had not yet joined him, he could derive no support from the Prussians, and prudence required that a contest so unequal should be avoided. With that promptitude for which he is characterized, the Duke ordered an immediate retreat, and before eleven

all the troops were on the road to the forest of Soignies. The cavalry covered the rear.

They had scarcely commenced their march when the masses of the enemy began to appear. The French cuirassiers* and lancers formed the advanced guard, and pressed upon the rear of the British columns. The rain fell in torrents. The roads were almost impassable, and the open country could not be traversed even by the cavalry. On this account the French were unable to harass the flanks of the retiring army, and confined all their efforts to the centre which proceeded on the high road.

* The cuirassiers of the French Imperial Guards are all arrayed in armour. The front cuirass is in the form of a pigeon's breast, so as to effectually turn off a musket-shot, except fired within twenty yards. The back cuirass is made to fit the back. They weigh from nine to ten pounds each, according to the size of the man, and are stuffed inside with a pad. They fit on by a kind of fish-scaled clasp, and are put off and on in an instant. The men have helmets like our horse-guards, straight long swords and pistols, but no carbines, and if there is a good horse to be found, they are sure to have it. They are all picked men, must be five feet seven inches French (above six feet English), have served in three campaigns, have been twelve years in the service, and of a good character.

In close action they were protected from the sabres of their antagonists by their armour, except the blow fell on the neck or limbs, but the shape and weight of the cuirass necessarily impeded the motion of their arms, and rendered them far inferior to the British in the dexterous use of the sabre.

Many skirmishes took place with alternate success, until the rear of the British army arrived at Genappe. Lord Uxbridge halted on a plain beyond the town, and resolved to attack the enemy's squadrons as they issued from the place. The seventh hussars were ordered to begin the attack. They charged with courage and impetuosity on the French, but with their small horses and light arms, they were unable to make any impression on the heavy armed troops to which they were opposed. They were repulsed in some disorder, and with considerable loss. Animated by the native valour of Britons, they soon rallied and returned to the charge, but the massive columns of the enemy remained unbroken. The heavy household troops were now brought forward, and ordered to charge at the top of their speed, and to strike only at the limbs. The French were dismayed at this novel mode of attack, and, unable to withstand this resistless torrent, they turned their horses and fled.

This affair produced the following letter from Lord Uxbridge (afterwards created Marquis of Anglesea) to the officers of the seventh, which was his own regiment. The candour and honourable feeling which it breathes are highly creditable to the writer, and well entitle it to a place in our work.

“Brussels, June 2, 1815.

“MY DEAR BROTHER OFFICERS,—It has been stated to me, that a report injurious to the re-

putation of our regiment has gone abroad, and I, therefore, do not lose a moment in addressing you on the subject. The report must take its origin from the affair which took place with the advanced guard of the French cavalry near Genappe, on the 17th, when I ordered the seventh to cover the retreat. As I was with you, and saw the conduct of every individual, there is no one more capable of speaking to the fact than I am. As the lancers pressed us hard, I ordered you (upon a principle I ever did, and shall act upon) not to wait to be attacked, but to fall upon them. The attack was most gallantly led by the officers, but it failed. It failed because the lancers stood firm, and had their flanks completely secured, and were backed by a great mass of cavalry. The regiment was repulsed, but did not run away. No—it rallied immediately. I renewed the attack. It again failed, from the same cause. It retired in perfect order, although it had sustained so severe a loss; but you had thrown the lancers into confusion, who being in motion, I then made an attack upon them with the life-guards, who certainly made a very handsome charge, and completely succeeded. This is the plain honest truth. However slightly I think of lancers, under ordinary circumstances, I do think, posted as they were, they had a most decided advantage over the hussars. The impetuosity, however, and the weight of the life-guards, carried all before them.

Whilst I exculpate my own regiment, I am delighted in being able to bear testimony to the gallant conduct of the former.

Be not uneasy, my brother officers, you had ample opportunity, of which you gallantly availed yourselves, of revenging yourselves on the 18th for the failure of the 17th; and after all, what regiment, and which of us individually, is certain of success. Be assured that I am proud of being your Colonel, and that you possess my utmost confidence. Your sincere friend,

(Signed) ANGLESEA, Lieut.-Gen."

It was not the wish of the Duke of Wellington to bring on a general engagement, he therefore contented himself with the severe check which the enemy's cavalry had received, and continued his retreat without further molestation to the entrance of the forest of Soignies, three miles in front of Waterloo.

At five o'clock the English army arrived at its destined position. It occupied a rising ground, having in its front a gentle declivity. The extremity of the right wing was stationed at Merke Braine. The enclosed country and deep ravines round this village protected the right flank, and rendered it impossible for the enemy to turn it. In the centre of the right, was a country-house called Hougoumont, or Gomont (*Le Chateau de Gomont*). The house was loop-holed and strongly occupied; the garden and orchard were

lined with light troops, and the wood before the house was maintained by some companies of the guards. The front of the right was thrown back to avoid a ravine which would have exposed it, and was nearly at right angles with the centre *. It consisted of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first of the Netherlands, and was commanded by Lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the Prince of Orange, supported by the Brunswick and Nassau regiments, with the guards under General Cooke, on the right, and the division of General Alten on the left. In front was the farm of La Haye Sainte which was occupied in great force. The road from Genappe to Brussels ran through the middle of the centre. The left wing consisting of the divisions of Generals Picton, Lambert, and Kempt, extended to the left of Ter la Haye, which it occupied, and the defiles of which protected the extremity of the left and prevented it from being turned. The cavalry was principally posted in the rear of the left of the centre.

Separated by a valley varying from half to three-fourths of a mile in breadth, were other heights following the bending of those on which the British army was posted. The advanced guard of the French reached these heights in the

* See plan of the battle.

evening of the 17th, and some skirmishes took place between the out-posts.

The night was dreadful. An incessant rain fell in torrents. The soldiers were up to their knees in mud, and many of them, particularly of the officers who had not yet been able to change their ball dresses, laid themselves down on this comfortless bed, to rise no more. In the morning their limbs were stiffened by the cold and wet, and they were unable to move. Few places could be found sufficiently free from mud to light a fire, and when the fire was lighted, the storm, which continued to pour pitilessly down, immediately extinguished it. Both armies equally suffered; but the day soon broke, and the soldiers sprung on their feet eager for the combat.

If the night was terrible to the soldiers who were inured to the inclemency of the weather, it was far more dreadful to the wretched inhabitants of the villages in the rear of the French army. It had always been the policy of Napoleon at those critical times, when so much depended on the heroism of his troops, to relax the severity of his discipline, and to permit them to indulge in the most shameful excesses. They now abandoned themselves to more than usual atrocities. Every house was pillaged. The property which could not be carried away was wantonly destroyed, and the inhabitants fled in despair to the woods.

Notwithstanding the torrents of rain and the depth of the roads, Napoleon succeeded in bringing up his whole army, in the course of the night, and his numerous artillery, consisting of more than three hundred pieces. He had feared that the British would retire in the night, and when he saw them at the dawn of day occupying the position of the preceding evening, he could not contain his joy. "Ah," he exclaimed, "I have them, then, these English!"

A farmer who lived at the house called Belle Alliance, was seized by the French, and carried to Napoleon, who, mounting him on horseback, tying him to the saddle, and giving the bridle into the hands of a trooper, compelled him to act as guide. Before any of the French troops were placed in the positions which they were to occupy, Napoleon ascended a neighbouring eminence, and acquainted himself with every feature of the surrounding country. His inquisitiveness knew no bounds. Not an inequality of the ground, not a hedge escaped him. He was employed in this preparation during four or five hours, and every observation was carefully noted in a map, which he carried in his hand.

The ground occupied by the two armies was the smallest in extent of front, compared with the numbers engaged, in the recollection of military men. The English line did not extend more than a mile and a half in length, and the French line about two miles. This will partly account for

the unparalleled losses which each party sustained, and particularly for the destruction caused by the artillery.

About nine o'clock the rain began to abate, and at eleven the French were in full position, and ready to advance to the attack. The left wing was commanded by Jerome Buonaparte; the centre by Generals Reille and Erlon, and the right by Count Lobau. The imperial guard was in reserve. The French army consisted of eighty thousand men*, the Duke of Wellington had not

* The second number of Buonaparte's Portfolio, taken at Charleroi on the 18th of June, was published at Brussels. Among the different articles of which it consists, is one entitled, "*Enumeration of some Corps of the Army*:" it is a paper in the hand-writing of one of Buonaparte's officers, and exhibits a statement of the force of the corps which fought at Waterloo.

"The Duke of Wellington was attacked by the seventy-one thousand men comprehended in this statement, *viz.*—forty-eight thousand infantry (including thirteen thousand of the guard); sixteen thousand five hundred cavalry (including four thousand of the guard); seven thousand artillery, and two hundred and seventy pieces of cannon. The first and second corps, commanded by Generals Reille and d'Erlon, are comprised in this account.

Marshal Grouchy acted on his side with the corps of Vandamme and Gerard, which comprehended together six thousand horse. Including infantry, they must have had a force equal to the first and second, that is from twenty-four to twenty-seven thousand men. He had also the first and second cavalry corps under Excelmans and Pajol, which may be assimilated with the third and fourth, stated in the table at three thousand horse each."

This account being drawn up by one of the staff, for the personal information of Napoleon, may be considered as correct. It

more than sixty-five thousand. The French regiments were the very *elite* of the army: but this was the first campaign which most of Wellington's troops had seen.

The leaders were acknowledged to be the best generals of the age. Napoleon had often frankly confessed that the Duke was the second general in the world, reserving, with his characteristic vanity, the first rank to himself. This acknowledgment was always followed by the lamentation that he had not yet had the good fortune to cross him. When he set out from Paris to place himself at the head of his troops, almost his last words to some of his friends were, "that he was at last going to measure swords with this Wellington, of whom he had no doubt that he should give a good account."

was never intended to be published to deceive either the French or the allies. A few troops, however, joined Napoleon in the morning, and increased his army to about eighty thousand.

The historian is perfectly aware that one writer only (Captain Batty, in his well-written "Sketch of the late Campaign in the Netherlands,") has rated the French army so low. Some authors have estimated the forces of Napoleon so high as one hundred and fifty thousand men. They have been deluded by the natural and excusable wish to do full justice to the exploits of their countrymen on this glorious day.

While the object of the historian is truth, the unrivalled skill of the British commander, and the unconquerable bravery of his troops, need no false and exaggerated statements to gain the applause and gratitude of the present generation, and the admiration of posterity.

The Duke of Wellington had successively vanquished every marshal who had been opposed to him, and now, for the first time, found himself confronted with their master. Never, in the annals of modern warfare, had two generals of equal reputation met, or two whose system of tactics was so diametrically opposite.

The plan of Napoleon was simple, but grand. It resembled that which, adopted by our naval commanders, has raised the character of the British navy to the very pinnacle of glory. The whole weight of his army was directed on one point, either where his opponent appeared to be weakest, or where success must be followed not merely by the discomfiture, but the annihilation of the foe. Regiments, divisions, whole armies, were sacrificed without hesitation to accomplish his favourite object. When one body retired in confusion another was immediately ordered to occupy its place. "Forward, forward," was the only reply to every intelligence of repulse or reverse; and candour must acknowledge, that his calculations were usually right, and his efforts crowned with unparalleled success.

The system of the Duke of Wellington was altogether the reverse. Never was any general so sparing of the blood of his soldiers. He usually awaited the attack of his opponent. No temporary or partial success could delude him to compromise the safety of his army: but his keen

and eagle-eye detected the first error, or the first confusion or indecision of the enemy, and, with a promptitude as characteristic as his previous coolness and immobility, he availed himself of the critical moment, and the day was his own.

For the first time these renowned generals were opposed. The previous reputation which each had acquired, the kind of rivalry which existed between them, and the almost uniform success which had attended their different systems, would powerfully excite them to call into exercise all the inexhaustible resources of their genius. They likewise now fought not merely for glory. It was not one of those engagements that might be lost or won without much influence on the campaign. The fate of Europe depended on that day.

Buonaparte had rushed on with all his accumulated force. It was the last effort of despair. No new levies were at hand to repair his losses. Victory alone could procure him reinforcements; and if he was severely repulsed in this engagement he was undone for ever. On the other hand, if success attended him, the enthusiasm of the French would again be roused; thousands and tens of thousands would flock to his standard; the country which he now invaded would declare in his favour, and he would be enabled to protract the war until winter closed the campaign, and, protracting it thus long, would ultimately foil every attempt of the Allies to crush him. The generals and their

c 3
If 31
c 3
If 31

troops felt how much depended on the event of that day, and never was a battle more skilfully or bravely fought*. As the troops of the respective armies advanced to their positions, Napoleon ascended an observatory† a little in the rear, and on the highest ground in that part of the country. From this spot he commanded the whole of both lines. He was particularly struck with the fine appearance of some of the British troops. “How steadily,” said he to his aides-de-camp, “these troops take their ground! How beautifully those cavalry form! Observe those grey horse (the Scotch Greys)! Are they not noble troops? Yet in half an hour I shall cut them to pieces.”

The Duke of Wellington had despatched a courier on the preceding evening to Prince Blücher, stating that he expected to be attacked, and requesting the co-operation of as many divisions as he could spare. The Marshal promised to be with him in person, and proposed that, should the French army decline the combat, the combined English and Prussian troops should become the assailants.

* Napoleon has since declared (with how much truth the author presumes not to inquire), that the confederacy of the Allies was on the point of breaking at the eve of the battle of Waterloo, and if he had gained the victory, their union would have been broken asunder in eight and forty hours.

† This observatory had been lately erected by the Prince of Orange, preparatory to a survey of the country.

When the formidable forces of the French were all drawn up on the opposite heights, one of the officers of the Duke ventured to express some alarm, and wished that the Prussians were arrived. "The roads are heavy," replied his Grace. "They cannot be here before two or three o'clock, and my brave fellows will keep double that force at bay until then."

About eleven o'clock the cannonade began, and soon became general through the whole of the line. At half past eleven, the left wing of the French advanced against the *chateau* of Hougoumont. The battalions which occupied the wood in front defended themselves with courage against the superior numbers that pressed upon them; but after many desperate attacks the French penetrated to the house. The English were now reinforced by the 2d brigade of guards, who, occupying the *chateau*, and lining the orchard and walls, resisted every effort of the enemy to dislodge them. The French forced their way to the very doors of the *chateau*, but were there received with so close and well-directed a fire that they retired in confusion, or were charged with the bayonet and overthrown. Again they penetrated, and again were driven back. In less than half an hour fifteen hundred men perished in the orchard only, which did not contain more than four acres.

At length the house and out-buildings were set on fire. A most horrible scene now commenced.

In one part the combat continued with unabated fury, although both parties were enveloped with flames. In another, the British, after having repulsed the enemy, were unwilling to quit their station although the conflagration rapidly advanced upon them, and the building threatened to crush them with its fall. In one of the out-buildings the wounded of both parties, who were indiscriminately heaped on one another, perished by the most horrible of deaths. In vain their shrieks echoed through the wood. The combatants were too fiercely engaged to lend them any assistance, and it was soon impossible to extricate them from the surrounding flames.

The *chateau* was now reduced to a mere shell, and the French were enabled to approach it with greater ease, but as often as they penetrated within the walls, they were driven out with the bayonet, and at length, being foiled in every attempt, and having suffered immense loss, they retreated to the main body. The British had received orders not to pursue them beyond a certain point, and contented themselves with continuing to occupy the post which they had so bravely maintained.

Had this position been carried the result must have been fatal to the British army. Immediately behind it were some heights which would have commanded and enfiladed the whole of the Duke of Wellington's lines. A reference to the plan will convince the reader, that had the French been

able to gain possession of it, and to have planted their artillery precisely at that angle, their fire would have carried destruction through the whole of the British position. The reader will not therefore wonder that this was selected as the first object of attack, and that that attack was continued with such obstinacy. During the whole of the day the enemy ceased not to make the most desperate attempts to carry this important position.

In the mean time, to cover his real design, and to prevent the Duke from sending reinforcements to Hougoumont, the action was briskly commenced through the whole of the line. But when Buonaparte was convinced that he had failed in accomplishing his first object, the fire of cannon and musketry became more terrible and murderous. Columns of French infantry and cavalry, preceded by a formidable artillery, advanced from every point, ascended the eminence on which the British were posted, and precipitated themselves on their squares. In vain the French artillery mowed down whole ranks of their opponents. The chasms were instantly filled, and not one foot of ground was lost. "What brave troops!" exclaimed Napoleon to this staff. It is a pity to destroy them; but I shall beat them at last." In vain the British reserved their fire until the enemy had approached within a few paces, and then

with one well-directed volley, levelled whole squadrons of the foe. Other troops succeeded, and the French pressed on to closer and more destructive combat.

The principal masses of the French were now directed on the left of the British, where were posted the divisions of Generals Picton and Kempt. The object of Napoleon in this attack was to turn the left of the Allies, and by separating them from the Prussians, cut off the retreat of the Duke in that direction. The Scotch regiments displayed all the gallantry by which they had been distinguished in the battle of the 16th, and sustained the principal brunt of the affair.

A strong column of the enemy advanced amidst the destructive fire of the British artillery, without discharging a shot. They gained the height, and pressed on, determined to carry the position. Sir T. Picton waited not for their attack, but forming his division into a solid square advanced to the charge. The French were appalled by the boldness of the manœuvre. They hesitated, fired a volley, turned and fled. That volley was fatal to one of the bravest commanders which the British army boasted. Sir T. Picton received a musket-ball in his temple, and falling expired without a struggle. On examining the body, it was discovered that he had received a dangerous wound on the 16th, which he had concealed from all

except his valet, and notwithstanding which he had continued to discharge the arduous duties of his profession*.

* General Picton had been forty-five years in the army. The first active service in which he was employed was in the horrible warfare of the West Indies, where he was sent with his regiment (the 68th) on the breaking out of the revolutionary war. There he distinguished himself upon every occasion, and particularly at the capture of St. Lucie, and speedily rose from the rank of Captain to that of Lieutenant-Colonel.

In 1797, he was appointed Governor of Trinidad. The injurious reports which were circulated of his severity, while he occupied that station, were completely rebutted by the verdict of a British jury. Firmness and decision always marked his character, but they were tempered by benevolence and humanity. Notwithstanding the calumnies of a few individuals, the inhabitants of Trinidad were so sensible of the benefits which they had received under his administration, that, on his departure from the island they voted him 5000*l.* as a testimony of their esteem and gratitude. Some time after this a dreadful fire reduced the capital of the island to ashes. A subscription was opened for the unfortunate inhabitants, and Picton hastened to return the 5000*l.* which he had received from them.

After a lapse of some years he was employed in the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, and on the capture of Flushing was appointed governor of that place; but catching the fever whose destructive ravages, thinned the ranks of the British army, he was compelled to relinquish his post and return to England.

He had scarcely recovered when he was appointed to the command of a division in the army of the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, and was the favourite associate of the hero in most of the well-fought battles of that protracted war. He was distinguished in the army by the honourable title of "Welling-

Notwithstanding this partial repulse the enemy pressed on, and at length succeeded in driving back the Scotch division, not, however, until every resistance had been made which the undaunted bravery of the Highland regiments could offer.— But the brigade of heavy cavalry coming up, supported by the twelfth light dragoons, the enemy's masses were compelled to retreat.

A column of two thousand men bore down on the position which was occupied by the ninety-second regiment, which, from the losses it had sustained on the 16th, and the galling fire to which it had now been exposed, was reduced to two hundred men. This little, but valiant band, shrunk not from the unequal contest. They would not even wait for the attack, but forming themselves into line, and presenting a narrow, but compact front, charged on the centre of the column; and had the French stood firm, their flanks might have closed round, and completely

ton's right-hand;" and contributed much to the uniform success which attended that unrivalled General's operations. In the battle of Vittoria, his division sustained, for more than four hours, an unequal contest against the main body of the French army, and received, at the close of the engagement, the warmest acknowledgments of admiration and gratitude from the commander-in-chief.

It was at the personal solicitation of the Duke that he accepted the command of a division in the campaign of Flanders, where he terminated his career of glory.

annihilated the gallant Scotch. But the enemy was unable to resist the impetuosity of the charge; the centre of the column was pierced, and the Scotch Greys, immediately profiting by the confusion, dashed in at the opening. The two regiments cheered each other, shouting "Scotland for ever!" and the enemy were, to a man, destroyed or taken prisoners.

A column of French cavalry now advanced, with the cuirassiers at their head, to endeavour to save their infantry. The Scotch Greys had been reinforced by the brigade of heavy dragoons, and the most dreadful engagement of cavalry which modern warfare has witnessed, now took place. The impenetrable cuirasses of the French gave them a decided advantage over the English, who could only strike at the neck or limbs of their antagonists. But nothing could resist the determined valour of the British, and after a long and murderous struggle, the cuirassiers turned their horses and fled. The slaughter was then dreadful, but the British had strict orders not to pursue them beyond the lines, and the scattered remnant of the French sought refuge in the rear of their infantry. The forty-ninth and one hundred and fifth French regiments lost their eagles in this brilliant affair.

It has been a matter of surprise, that in an engagement so sanguinary and decisive, only two eagles should have been taken. The circumstance

admits of an easy explanation. Most of the French regiments consist of four battalions, yet only one eagle is assigned to the whole regiment. In the British service every battalion has a pair of colours, so that a given number of English troops has eight times as many standards as an equal number of French. The eagle is likewise easily removed from the pole, and on the near approach of danger, the ensign endeavours to conceal it in his pocket, and thus save the honour of the regiment. To which it should be added, that in this affair very few of the regiments had eagles. They had been restored only to those who were present at the Champ-de-Mai.

At this period of the engagement the brave Sir William Ponsonby fell. He led his brigade against the Polish lancers, and checked at once their destructive attacks on the British infantry. Never was a more timely, a more brilliant, or a more successful charge : but the impetuous valour of two of his regiments hurrying them too far in the pursuit, he galloped forward, attended by only one aide-de-camp, to restrain their rashness. He entered a newly ploughed field where the ground was exceedingly soft, and being badly mounted, his horse sunk in the mire, and was utterly incapable of extricating itself. At this instant a body of lancers approached him at full speed. Sir William saw that his fate was decided. He took out a picture and his watch, and was in the

act of giving them to his aide-de-camp, to deliver to his wife and family, when the lancers came up. They were both killed on the spot. His body was found lying by the side of his horse, pierced with seven lance wounds. Many of those whose unmanageable courage led to the destruction of their chief, perished here, but before the day was ended, the Polish lancers were almost entirely cut to pieces by the brigade which this brave officer had led against them.

Napoleon again changed the object of his attack, and bringing up a numerous body of fresh troops, directed them on the farm of La Haye Sainte. This was a point as important to carry as either the position of Hougoumont or Ter La Haye. If he was successful here he would break the British line, and cut off the retreat of the Duke of Wellington on the road to Brussels.

Both parties felt the importance of the position, and nobly exerted themselves, the one to carry, and the other to defend it. As the respective battalions engaged were weakened or destroyed, perpetual re-inforcements occupied their places, and for more than an hour the contest was maintained with doubtful and equal success. At length the ammunition of the Allies was expended, and the enemy penetrated to the farm, and surrounded it. Yet even then the German Legion which occupied it scorned to yield. They desperately defended

themselves with the bayonet; nor was the position carried until all its defenders had ceased to breathe.

Fortune now seemed to smile on the French. Napoleon seized the advantage with all his characteristic promptness, and pressing on with immense masses of infantry and cavalry, attacked the centre, which was now exposed. The first battalions that he encountered, overwhelmed and crushed by superior numbers, gave way. Napoleon deemed the victory his own, and despatched a courier to Paris with the intelligence that the day was won.

Had he now brought up all his reserves of infantry, or waited until the British squares had been thrown into confusion, by the tremendous fire of his artillery, or the desperate charges of his foot-soldiers, it might have been impossible for the unrivalled skill of the Duke of Wellington to have restored the fortune of the day. But following up his advantages too precipitately, and believing that the new levies of the Duke could not resist the shock, he ordered his immense cavalry to advance and charge upon the centre of the Allies*.

* Napoleon seems to have been afterwards aware of the error which he committed in bringing up his cavalry too soon, before the enemy had been thrown into confusion, or were beginning to give way, and awkwardly apologises for it in his bulletin.

The cuirassiers and lancers rushed on at the head of the columns. They precipitated themselves on the British squares. A few battalions, who were slow or awkward in their evolutions, were in a moment cut to pieces; but wherever the squares were formed the enemy could make no impression. In vain, with unexampled courage, the French cavalry walked their horses round the the British squares, and dashed at the slightest opening; in vain, when they arrived within a short distance, a few of them rushed on, and would have nobly sacrificed themselves, by receiving the fire of their opponents, while the main body

“ This done, the Emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, being made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.

“ Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy shewing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket firing.”

waited to charge on the British ere they could reload their pieces, or fill up the chasms. The cool intrepidity of the allied infantry baffled every attempt to break them.

Other squadrons of French cavalry penetrated between the squares, and desperately charged on the position which the Duke and his staff occupied. It was their evident object to signalize themselves by his death or capture. His personal escort was compelled to be continually on the alert, and was frequently closely engaged with the enemy.

The British cavalry now took part in the action. It fiercely charged the cuirassiers, lancers, and chasseurs, who had penetrated the line, and the battle was bravely contested man to man.

Napoleon saw the error which he had committed, and the whole centre of his infantry was brought forward to assist, and, if possible, to disengage the cavalry. A close column of French pressed forward, overpowered every resistance, and marched on to carry the village of Mont St. Jean, in the rear of the British position.

The Duke of Wellington felt the critical situation in which he was placed, and, presenting himself wherever the danger was most imminent, led on in person several successive charges. When any of the squares appeared to waver, or were almost broken, he threw himself into the midst of them, and the consciousness of the treasure which was

then committed to their care, rendered them firm as the adamantine rock, against which the spray harmlessly beats. At length he succeeded in arresting the progress of the French, and snatching from them every advantage that they had gained. They were driven from the eminence which they had carried ; the success was vigorously followed up, the farm of La Haye retaken, and the combatants again occupied the positions which they had held at the commencement of the affair, except that the French continued to occupy a small mound on the left of the road from Brussels to Charleroi, and from which they could not be dislodged, till the grand advance of the British army at the close of the engagement.

With the greatest difficulty the Duke could now restrain the impetuosity of his troops. Wherever he appeared he was hailed with enthusiastic shouts, and eager demands to be led against the enemy. The soldiers were tired of standing for so many successive hours exposed to a murderous fire, and their energies confined to merely driving back the squadrons which rushed upon them. "Not yet, not yet, my brave fellows !" was the Duke's reply. "Be firm a little longer ; you shall have at them by and by."

The attack on the *chateau* of Hougoumont had recommenced, and continued during the day, but at no period were the French for a moment in

possession of it. Bringing forward, however, some strong bodies of infantry and cavalry, they made a circuit round the *chateau*, and advanced to the eminence by which it was commanded. Here, as in the centre, the enemy's cavalry boldly penetrated the squares, and for a while appeared masters of the position; but the British dragoons coming up, a strange and awful scene of confusion ensued. The artillery of the two armies was yet opposed and poured forth an incessant torrent of round and grape shot. Suddenly the artillery would wheel round, and massive columns of infantry would advance and either engage in a close and destructive fusillade, or charge with the bayonet; while in the rear of the allied infantry, the cavalry of the two armies maintained a gallant and doubtful combat.

The thirtieth regiment sustained several charges of the cuirassiers. Protected by their iron breastplates, they galloped up to the very bayonets of the infantry, hoping that some heart might fail, and that the smallest opening might be made through which they might penetrate; but not in a single instance, did they succeed in making the least impression. The horsemen had no sooner passed than the regiment again deployed into line that its fire might be more extended and effectual. They had scarcely completed the evolution, when the word was again given, "Reform square; pre-

pare to receive cavalry." The cuirassiers repeatedly walked round this gallant regiment, eagerly watching for an opportunity to dash in.

The commanding officer of one of the squadrons resorted to a *ruse-de-guerre*, which does credit to his ingenuity but not to his honour. He rode up to the front of the regiment, and lowered his sword to the colonel. The officers who stood near were deceived. "They surrender, they surrender!" was the general cry, and the regiment would soon have been thrown into confusion. General Halkett was not so easily imposed upon. He suspected the offer of surrender made by a corps of cavalry whom nothing hindered from effecting their escape. "Present, fire," was the prompt reply, which probably saved the regiment from destruction.

Quitting the thirtieth, the cuirassiers rushed on the sixty-ninth, who occupied a neighbouring position, and, coming upon them before the square was completely formed, committed dreadful slaughter. But, ere the day closed, the brave remains of the regiment nobly avenged the death of their comrades.

The first foot-guards were for a moment almost cut off from the rest of the army, and surrounded by the enemy's cavalry who repeatedly charged on every side of the square at once. Their loss was necessarily immense, but as the soldiers rapidly fell, no chasm was for a moment left. The files

were closed, and the square gradually diminished, nor would they have surrendered though cut off to nearly the last man. At length the British cavalry came to their relief, and the few fine fellows who were left effected their escape.

In every part of the field the intrepidity of the allies prevailed, and the French were driven back to their former positions, with immense loss.

CHAP. III.

*Fresh Attacks of the French;—Thirtieth Regiment ;
 First Foot Guards ;—Dangerous Situation of the
 Duke;—His invincible Resolution;—General De
 Lancy ;—Sir Alexander Gordon ;—Lieutenant-
 Colonel Canning ;—Captain Curzon ;—Fury of
 Napoleon ;—Approach of the Prussians ;—Their
 skilful Position ;—Attack of the Cavalry of the
 Guard ;—Last Attack of the Infantry of the
 Guard ;—Noble Gallantry of the British Guards ;
 Repulse of the French ;—Advance of the British
 lines ;—Total Rout of the French ;—Meeting of
 Wellington and Blucher ;—Pursuit of the Prus-
 sians ;—Dreadful Slaughter of the French ;—
 Sensibility of the Duke of Wellington ;—Humanity
 of the British Soldiers ;—Loss of both Armies ;—
 Review of the Battle.*

Now commenced an uninterrupted series of attacks, through the whole line, but principally on the centre, sometimes with infantry, at other times with cavalry, and then with both united ; while nearly three hundred pieces of artillery played on every part of the British position.

The slaughter was dreadful; yet it would have been greater had not the ground been thoroughly soaked with the rain. On this account the shots seldom rose after they had once touched the ground, and they never bounded along as when the ground is dry. The shells likewise frequently buried themselves, and when they exploded, produced no other effect than casting up a tremendous fountain of mud.

The combat had continued with unabated fury nearly six hours, and almost one third of the allied force was killed or wounded. The Prussians so long and ardently wished for, did not yet arrive. The Duke began to fear that they had been employed or defeated by the French corps which had been left to observe them.

The reserves of the Duke of Wellington were now all in action, and the French reserves were not yet brought forward. His troops were diminished in numbers and worn out with fatigue. The brave Scotch division was reduced from six thousand to less than two thousand men. The sixth division had been almost destroyed without firing a gun. The spirits of the soldiers began to droop, and it required the utmost exertion of the officers to prevent them from yielding to despair. They scorned the thought of retreat; they were even eager to be led against the enemy: but thus to stand and be murdered without resistance was more than they could bear. They

were tired of having nothing to occupy their attention but the dreadful roar of the artillery, the fall of their companions around them, and the mournful cries of the wounded. An indifference to life was fast spreading through their ranks, and they resigned themselves to their fate, without an effort to avoid it. The mind of the British commander was a prey to the most anxious suspense. He feared that success was now more than doubtful. Should another hour pass, and Blucher not appear, the battle was inevitably lost. Yet he was cool, collected, and apparently cheerful; and while one regiment continued firm at its post, he would not resign the contest. An aide-de-camp now came with the information that the fifth division was almost destroyed, and that it was utterly impossible that they could longer maintain their ground. "I cannot help it," said he, "they must keep their ground with myself to the last man. Would to God! that night or Blucher were come."

The gallant General De Lancy now fell as he was animating and leading back to the charge a battalion of Hanoverians who had got into confusion. He immediately felt that his wound was mortal, and as the soldiers eagerly rushed forward to raise him in their arms and bear him into the rear, he insisted on being left to his fate; adding, that that time should not be wasted on him, which might be usefully employed in assist-

ing many a brave fellow who might be enabled again to fight his country's battles.

They obeyed him and retired, but when, on the following morning, the bloody field was again traversed, and those who had survived the sufferings of the night were removed, he was found yet living, and to the satisfaction and joy of his friends, hopes were entertained of his recovery. These hopes, however, were fallacious, and he died in a few days, probably a martyr to his own generous disinterestedness. He left a widow inconsolable for his loss, to whom he had been married only a few days.

Sir Alexander Gordon was earnestly and affectionately remonstrating with the Duke that he exposed his invaluable life to greater hazard than any private soldier, when a bullet laid him low, close by the side of a beloved commander. The Duke keenly felt his loss, especially connected with the peculiar circumstances that attended it, and in a letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, the brother of Sir Alexander, expresses himself in the simple and genuine language of the heart.

“ I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I contemplate the losses the country and the service have sustained ; none more severe than that of General Sir William Gordon. The glory resulting from such actions so dearly bought is no consolation to me, and I cannot imagine that

it is any to you; but I trust the result has been so decisive, that little doubt will remain that our exertions will be rewarded by the attainment of our first object; then it is that the glory of the actions in which our friends have fallen, may be some consolation*.”

Colonel Ferrier of the first life guards now bravely fell. He had led his regiment to the charge no less than eleven times, and many of these charges were made after his head had been laid open by the cut of a sabre, and his body had been pierced by a lance.

Lieutenant-Colonel Canning likewise now closed his career of glory. He had been sent by the Duke with some important orders to a distant part of the line. He had executed his commission and was returning when a grape-shot struck him in the breast. As he fell, his friend Lord March

* A writer in one of the periodical journals has adopted the just and sublime idea of the Duke in the following beautiful stanzas :

I would not check the tender sigh,
Nor chide the pious tear,
That heaves the heart, and dims the eye,
For friend or kinsman near.
Ev'n when their honoured relics lie
On victory's proudest bier.
But I would say for those that die,
In honour's high career,
For those in glory's grave who sleep,
Weep fondly, but exulting weep.

(the eldest son of the Duke of Richmond) hastened to his assistance. The Colonel, with difficulty, raised himself up, and even in his last moments, sensible only to that enthusiastic love for his commander which the Duke of Wellington so well knew how to inspire, eagerly inquired, "Is the Duke yet safe?" "He is my friend," was the reply. A smile of joy played round the lips of the dying man, "God bless him!" he exclaimed, and then seizing the hand of the young nobleman, he feebly added, "and God bless you," and expired.

Lieutenant-Colonel Canning had accompanied the Duke of Wellington as aide-de-camp during the whole of the Peninsular war, and had borne an honourable part in every action and siege, from the battle of Corunna to that of Orthes. On the return of Buonaparte he joined his regiment at Brussels, and was preparing to lead it into the field, when he received an unexpected message to wait on the Duke of Wellington. He was received by his old commander, with all his accustomed cordiality, and on the next day was restored, without solicitation, to the situation which he had occupied during so many campaigns.

Another hero must be mentioned here, namely, Captain Curzon of the 69th, the fourth son of Lord Scarsdale, and aide-de-camp to the Duke. He was sent with Lord March on a service of importance, when a grape-shot struck him on the

breast. As he fell from his horse, he affectionately and with a smile exclaimed, "Good bye, March." In vain his noble friend rendered him every possible assistance; the tide of life ebbed fast. At this moment a movement of the French cuirassiers threatened an immediate attack on a battalion of Nassau troops, stationed near the spot on which he lay. Lord March saw the danger to which they were exposed, and hastily endeavoured to form them into square. As he was thus employed, and animating the soldiers to wait with firmness the coming attack, Curzon lifted his head, and feebly crying, "Well done, March; that's right, my brave fellow, well done, well done!" breathed his last*.

Napoleon was furious at the obstinate resistance of the British. He incessantly took snuff in large pinches from his waistcoat pocket, vio-

* Two heroes of meaner fame, but whose gallantry was not exceeded by any whose fall has been deservedly honoured with the grateful applause of their country, perished in those bloody encounters. Thorne, the celebrated and unrivalled Somersetshire wrestler and single-stick player, had been in the life-guards about two years. It is confidently stated, that he actually cut down nine of the French cuirassiers by his superior strength and agility, when a shot from a carbine laid him low.

Shawe, who before the war was becoming celebrated in London for his pugilistic skill, was attacked by six of the French imperial guard at the same time. Four of them fell beneath his arm, but the remaining two were more successful and sacrificed him to the manes of their companions.

lently snuffing up half, and throwing the rest from him with a strong extension of the arm. "These English are devils," said he, "will they never be beaten?" A moment afterwards he added, "I shall beat them yet, but it is a pity to destroy such brave troops." He then turned to Soult. "How well these English fight! but they must soon give way; don't you think so?" Soult, who had some experience of British courage and firmness, replied, that "he doubted whether they would ever give way." "Why?" quickly and somewhat indignantly asked Napoleon. "They will suffer themselves to be cut to pieces first," was the answer which terminated the conversation.

The frequency and impetuousness of his attacks were now redoubled, and he began to expose himself to the thickest of the fire. Although no credit is to be given to the accounts of the desperation with which he sought every danger, and his apparently firm determination to die on the field, yet he evinced much personal courage, and was always collected, and in full possession of the inexhaustible resources of his genius. Seeing the guide frequently flinch at the shower of shot that fell around them, he said "Do not stir, my friend; a ball will kill you equally in the back as the front, and wound you more disgracefully."

The French author of the "Relation of the Battle of Mont St. Jean" says, that "Buonaparte now contemplated with a look of ferocity the hi-

deous spectacle of so frightful a butchery. The more the obstacles to his success multiplied, the more obstinate he became. He was indignant at these unforeseen difficulties, and far from hesitating to expose and to annihilate an army whose confidence in him knew no bounds, he ceased not to send forward fresh troops, and to order them to charge with the bayonet, and to carry every thing before them. He was often told that at various points the affair was against him, and that his troops began to waver. 'Forward, forward,' was his only reply."

A general sent to inform him, that he found himself in a position which he could not maintain owing to the dreadful fire of a battery, and to ask what he should do. "Let him carry the battery," was the reply, and Napoleon abruptly turned his back on the aide-de-camp.

An officer now approached with the intelligence that the Prussians were advancing in the rear of his right wing. Buonaparte was, or pretended to be incredulous. He furiously dismissed the officer, and affirmed that it was the corps of Grouchy, and that his success was now certain and complete.

Another messenger rapidly followed, and confirmed the intelligence of the former officer. Napoleon would not yet believe the possibility of the fact; but when he heard the firing of the Prussian light troops, and saw some of their battalions de-

bouching from the woods, he suddenly turned pale, but said not a word.

No blame can be attributed to General Bulow that the Prussians were so long in coming up. They had to cross the narrow bridge over the Dyle at Wavre, and to add to the delay which this caused, the houses in the street leading to the bridge had been set on fire by the French. The infantry passed with difficulty, the cavalry and artillery with greater, and the ammunition was compelled to wait till the fire was completely extinguished. When they were arrived at St. Lambert, the defiles and the badness of the roads occasioned a further and unexpected delay, and it was with the utmost exertion that they reached the scene of action before the fate of the day was decided. As soon as two brigades were arrived, Bulow commenced the attack.

By referring to the plan the reader will see how well selected was the spot at which the Prussians issued from the woods. It was proposed to advance above Fritchmont, but the peasant who guided them objected to this, and proposed to descend lower down the vale, and penetrate nearer Planchenoir, and more in the rear of the French reserves. "Then," said he, "we shall take them all."

The moment at which they arrived was most critical; and one shudders to think that this important affair depended on the knowledge and

fidelity of a single peasant. Had he guided them wrong,—had he led them into a neighbouring hollow way impassable to cannon,—or had Bulow's army come up one hour later, the British would have been compelled to retreat, and consequences inevitably fatal to the whole campaign must have ensued.

For a while Napoleon mused in silence. He felt the critical situation in which he was now placed, and not believing that the main body of the Prussians could come up for some hours, he hoped that success was yet in his power. He determined to attack the weakest part of the British line with his whole concentrated force, and thus endeavour to beat the Duke before his reinforcements could arrive. Leaving, therefore, the sixth corps to keep the Prussians in check, he brought forward the whole of the cavalry of his guard, and directed it on the centre of the British position. The shock was irresistible. The allied troops gave way; the heights were carried, and several of the guns were in the power of the French. But the Duke of Wellington was on the spot, and all was soon repaired. He placed himself at the head of some English and Brunswickers. He addressed to them a few sentences, with which he well knew how to inflame their ardour, and led them against the enemy, who, flushed with success, were proudly advancing to the very rear of his lines. In a moment the vic-

tory was rescued from their grasp. The artillery which they had taken was abandoned in haste, and they fled with precipitation.

In this period of the engagement, the Prince of Orange received a musket-ball in his arm, which lodged in the shoulder, as he was rallying some of his troops who had shrunk from the impetuous attack of the French. In a previous stage of the combat he had been hurried away by the ardour of the fight, and made prisoner; but a battalion of his troops rushing to his assistance, immediately effected his rescue.

In the mean time the troops of Count Lobau had repulsed the advanced guard of the Prussians, and driven them again into the woods. Without weakening his first line, or disabling himself from continuing his murderous charges against the centre of the British, he had despatched nearly one hundred pieces of cannon, and the whole of the reserve of his right wing against the Prussians. Animated by this success, and at the same time sensible how necessary it was for him to avail himself of it, Napoleon caused it to be announced to his troops that General Grouchy approached, and would cut to pieces the few Prussians who were hovering on his right; and then putting himself at the head of his guard, consisting of fifteen hundred men, he made one last desperate effort on the centre of the British. He led them on till he came to a hollow part of the road,

where he stopped under a ravine, protected from the fire of the British artillery. Here he harangued his troops. He reminded them how often he had relied on their valour in cases of emergency, and that he had never appealed to them in vain. He told them that the enemy, diminished in numbers and almost annihilated, could offer no effectual resistance, and that they had nothing to encounter but an artillery, which was indeed numerous and formidable, but which they would easily carry with the bayonet. They answered with a shout of enthusiasm, and the cry of "The Emperor for ever!" was distinctly heard as far as the British lines.

The Allies imagined that Napoleon was about to attack them in person, and far from being intimidated, rejoiced that they would have an opportunity of shewing him of what the soldiers of Wellington were capable. The Emperor, however, remained secure under the rising bank, and his brave and devoted troops defiled before him under the command of Ney, and ascended the eminence.

They marched on with a firm and steady step, and in dead silence. The fate of the battle; the fate of Europe depended upon them. The fire of the Allies abated; and with indescribable feelings of anxiety, awe, and admiration, they contemplated the approach of the chosen troops of France, the battalions who were the terror of Europe, and who had never yet been vanquished. But the

pause was only momentary. Every cannon seemed to open at once on the foe, and swept whole ranks away. As the front ranks fell, others in an instant rushed forward to fill up the chasms, and with stern and unbroken front, the imperial guard continued to advance.

Some Brunswickers first attempted to oppose them: but after an ineffectual resistance, they were defeated with immense slaughter. The French penetrated within the lines. It seemed impossible for the Duke to rally a sufficient force to arrest their progress. They carried every thing before them, and once more, in this strange and eventful battle, the victory was Napoleon's.

In a hollow of the ground, immediately in front of the French, and protected from the fire of their artillery, lay a regiment of the British guards. The Duke of Wellington was close behind them. He had placed himself on a ridge, and declared that he would not move from it. This was sufficient to render his troops invincible. They would now, as Soult had justly declared, rather have suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, than expose their beloved commander to peril.

The redoubted imperial guard still advanced. They approached within a hundred yards, when the Duke suddenly exclaimed "Up guards and at them." The unexpected apparition of this fine body of men startled the French battalions, and they suddenly paused; but immediately re-

covering themselves, they advanced more rapidly. At a given signal, their artillery filed off to the right and the left. They approached within twenty yards of their opponents, and were in the act of dashing upon them with the bayonet; when a volley was poured upon them by the British which staggered them, and literally knocked them back with its shock. A second volley threw them into greater confusion, and ere they had time to deploy or to manœuvre, the British cheered and rushed furiously upon them. They waited not to receive the attack, but suddenly turning fled in disorder.

The British were eagerly pursuing, when a regiment of sharp-shooters, which had accompanied and protected the advancing column, attacked them, and did considerable execution; but the British immediately rallied, and again cheering as before, charged on their new antagonists. They likewise refused to receive the shock, and followed the route of their companions. Again the French rallied, and opened a galling and destructive fire on their pursuers, but as soon as they were within charging distance uniformly gave way.

Napoleon saw the whole, from the hollow in which he was concealed. He gnashed his teeth with rage. He wished to rally the fugitives, and lead them on to one effort more; but Bertrand and Drouet threw themselves before him, and re-

presenting how much the safety of France and the army depended on his life, besought him to forbear. Napoleon suffered himself to be persuaded, and seeing that all was lost, hurried from that part of the field.

The main body of the Prussians had now arrived, and although they were bravely opposed by the troops of General Lobau, whom not even these new assailants could dishearten, perceptibly gained ground*. At this critical conjuncture, intelligence was brought to Blucher that the corps which he had left at Wavre was pressed by a superior force, and that they could with difficulty maintain their position. This news, however, made little impression on the hero. A reverse at Wavre he well knew could easily be repaired. The decisive battle must be fought on the ground which he now occupied. Without, therefore, pausing a moment, or despatching a single battalion to General Thielman at Wavre, he pressed more vigorously on the French. The troops of General Ziethen likewise now arrived on the left of the British position.

* The Prussians candidly acknowledge in their official account, "that the enemy did not lose his presence of mind;—that a murderous conflict ensued, and that the combat long remained uncertain." It betrays unpardonable ignorance and illiberality to assert, as some recent *visitors* to Flanders have done, that the French were deficient in courage, or that the battle was easily won. Such writers are not aware how much they detract from the glory of the victors.

The countenance of Wellington again brightened into a smile. "There goes old Blucher at last," he exclaimed. "We shall beat them yet." The decisive moment had arrived, and the Duke promptly availed himself of it. He ordered the whole line supported by the artillery and cavalry to charge. His troops replied with one universal shout and hastened to the attack. Nothing could resist their impetuosity. The French fought with bravery and desperation; but their first line was speedily broken through; the second afforded little more resistance, and complete confusion and route ensued.

Four squares of the old imperial guard yet remained. With these Napoleon endeavoured to cover his retreat, which was now inevitable; but they were embarrassed and borne away by the crowd of fugitives, and unable to resist the overwhelming force of English and Prussians which now pressed upon them. They defended themselves with a gallantry which excited the admiration of their foes. The Duke of Wellington would have prevented the useless sacrifice of their lives, and summoned them to surrender. But, with a high sense of military honour which we are compelled to regard with respect and veneration, though we think that it was here erroneous and overstrained, they refused to yield, and slowly retreating inch by inch, were almost entirely annihilated.

With their destruction the contest ended. No further resistance was opposed; and the conquerors had little more to do, than to pursue the fugitives, and massacre those who would not surrender.

Near La Belle Alliance, a farm in the rear of Napoleon's position, Wellington and Blucher accidentally met, and embraced each other with transport. The son of Blucher says with great *naïveté*, 'Father Blucher embraced Wellington in such a hearty manner, that every body who was present said it was the most affecting scene that could be imagined.' Blucher proposed to continue the pursuit during the night with his troops, who were comparatively fresh, and Wellington, recalling his battalions, who had been more than twelve hours under arms, and whom fatigue and want of food had completely exhausted, drew them up on the hill, and giving the Prussians three cheers as they passed, returned to the bivouack of the foregoing night.

The tremendous scenes of the day were surpassed by the horrors of the night. The sun had long gone down, but no friendly darkness sheltered the fugitives, and an unclouded moon, near her full, lighted the destroyers to their prey. The French fled in a confusion as extraordinary as the lengthened and murderous contention of the day. Lancers, dragoons, infantry, artillery, and cuirassiers; guns, waggons, tumbrils, and carriages

of every description, formed one mingled and impenetrable mass. The road was often literally choked with them. Not even the fear and desperation of the runaways could open a way of escape, until the impetuous charge of the pursuers broke through all impediment, and swept away every thing before them.

Some few officers, with Marshal Ney at their head, whose treason to his Prince and his country not even the noble intrepidity which he displayed on this fatal day could expiate, endeavoured to rally the scattered troops, and form a feeble rear-guard to check the furious pursuit of the conquerors. For a moment they succeeded. Some battalions of the guard obeyed the voice of their leaders, and endeavoured to protect the retreat of their army, but the first charge of the Prussians broke and dispersed them. Again they rallied, and again were overwhelmed. At length all the regiments were completely dispersed, no attempt at further resistance was made, and every one fled with the utmost precipitation. The confusion increased every moment, and at the distance of thirty miles from the field of battle it was impossible to rally a single squadron.

The Prussians continued the pursuit during the whole of the night, and, it must be confessed, were too intent on the work of death. It may be pleaded, not as a justification, but as some explanation of the ferocious joy with which they

followed and destroyed the fugitives, that a mutual and deadly hatred animated the Prussians and the French. In the battle of the 11th the former had asked, and the latter had given little quarter, and on the night of the 18th the slaughter of the former day was amply revenged. A German officer states, that "in the town of Genappe alone, six miles from the field of battle, eight hundred lay dead, who had suffered themselves to be cut down like cattle." The Brunswick cavalry, though they had borne their full share in all the fatigues of the day, petitioned that they might be permitted to join in the pursuit. The destruction on the field of battle had not, in their estimation, sufficiently atoned for the death of their beloved leader. They now eagerly headed the chase, and their savage ferocity knew no bounds. Not a man whom they could sacrifice to the manes of their prince was spared. As they charged through Genappe, General Duchesme, who then commanded the rear-guard of the French, was standing at the gate of an inn. One of the Brunswick black hussars, perceiving that he was a superior officer, rode up to him, and instantly cut him down, exclaiming, "The duke fell the day before yesterday, and thou also shalt bite the dust."

In several of the villages the officers repeatedly attempted to rally the troops, and to maintain themselves under protection of the houses. But an inexplicable panic had seized on every heart,

and they whose bravery had, a few hours before, excited the warmest admiration of their enemies, were now incapable of the least resistance. The drum or trumpet of the Prussians was no sooner heard at a distance, than they forsook their ranks, abandoned their hasty defences, and fled in every direction with all the rapidity which their fatigue and exhaustion would permit.

It was at Genappe that the last stand was made. The French there found some cannon which had had been early withdrawn from the field, or which had not reached the scene of action. These were speedily placed in the most advantageous position. Some waggons and carriages were overturned, and the streets completely blockaded. Intrenched behind this defence, they awaited with seeming resolution the approach of the enemy, and commenced a brisk fire of artillery and musketry. The Prussians halted for an instant, and bringing up a few light pieces, directed them on the French intrenchments. But after a few discharges, they were unable to restrain their impetuosity, and rushed on to carry the place by assault. The French were panic-struck. They abandoned a position which they might have long successfully defended, and thus saved the wreck of their army, and once more betook themselves to flight. The Prussians and Brunswickers galloped through the streets, and massacred, without remorse, every Frenchman who fell in their way. No resistance

was offered after this ; yet the slaughter continued with unabated fury.

Those of the French who had early escaped from the field, and who had been able to continue their flight without much impediment, did not expect to be so closely pursued. Worn out with fatigue, and fainting from want of food, they halted at some of the villages to recruit their exhausted powers. But they had scarcely tasted their repast, when crowds of fugitives precipitated themselves upon them, exclaiming that the Prussians were coming. The blast of the trumpet too soon confirmed the intelligence, and they were driven from one bivouack to another until the victors were glutted with slaughter, or they were unable longer to continue the pursuit from mere fatigue.

At Charleroi, Napoleon himself attempted to arrest the flight of the troops. He planted a company of grenadiers on the bridge with fixed bayonets. But the immense crowd which pressed on, continually urged to new efforts by the cries of "The Prussians, the Prussians!" reiterated in the rear, overpowered all opposition. The grenadiers were totally unable to stem the torrent, and it was not until they had passed the Sambre that the French dared to imagine that they were safe.

At break of day the feeble wreck of the French army began to arrive at Charleroi and Marchienne, where they eagerly pressed on to repass

the Sambre. Three days before they had proudly traversed these places as conquerors. Now they stole fearfully through, as if dreading to be recognised, or to find an avenging enemy in the peaceable inhabitants.

The most melancholy part of the cavalcade was the long column of wounded, who clung to each other, as if they sought consolation or protection in the contemplation of each other's misery. Some of them crept slowly along on foot. Others were mounted on the horses which they had forcibly taken from the waggons that had been abandoned on every step of the road. They were pale, enfeebled, and covered with the bloody rags with which they had hastily bound up their wounds.

As they approached the bridge the horrible scenes of Genappe were renewed. The road taken, suddenly became considerably narrower. It had previously been completely filled with the strangely mingled column of the retreating army. But now, when the space was contracted, all passage was obstructed. Horsemen, infantry, and carriages rushed on, contending who should cross first. The stronger unfeelingly thrust aside, or trampled upon the weaker, and too often drew their sabres, or their bayonets on those who offered any resistance. Many were crushed by the wheels of the waggons or artillery, so that at length the heaps of dead bodies, continually in-

creasing, formed an almost insurmountable obstacle.

At this dreadful moment the enemy appeared. The confusion now redoubled. Some hastily cut the traces of their horses, and springing upon them, abandoned their carriages, and forced their way through the crowd. Others turned off at the foot of the bridge, and driving furiously along the banks of the Sambre, sought for a passage, and at length madly plunging in, were swept away by the torrent. Many hundreds who had been congratulating themselves on their escape, perished here at a distance of thirty miles from the field of battle.

Part of the army, which had early retreated, hoping that the pursuit would cease here, and that the Sambre would afford them a secure defence, had bivouacked on the right side of the river. The neighbouring meadows were crowded with groups of soldiers, hastily cooking that food the long want of which had deprived them of all remaining strength, or stretched on the grass, enjoying that repose which was even more necessary than food. But when this scene of confusion commenced, and the shouts of the Prussians were heard, their slumbers were immediately broken, their food was left untasted, and once more they betook themselves to flight.

A little beyond Charleroi two roads presented themselves, one of which conducted to Avesnes, and

the other to Philippeville. Napoleon, confident of victory, had formed no regular plan in case of retreat. No general was at hand to direct their route, and the army divided, as inclination or chance determined. The greater part pursued the road to Avesnes, while others turned to the left, and fled towards Philippeville. Great numbers abandoned the high road, and, as their only refuge from the enemy's cavalry, threw themselves into the neighbouring woods. Thus the army became gradually dispersed, and at length nearly disappeared.

Wandering through the woods, wherever chance directed their way, they spread alarm through the country. The unfortunate inhabitants now received the first tidings of the success, and the irreparable defeat of the French army; and at the moment when they were congratulating themselves that the theatre of war was so far removed from them, learned, to their unutterable despair, that they would soon become the prey of an enemy whom a victory so dearly bought had rendered ten-fold more ferocious. The fortified towns quickly closed their gates against the fugitives, who brought with them disorder and despair. At some places, the runaways were forcibly driven away, and thus being compelled to spread themselves over the neighbouring country, they abandoned themselves to every species of excess.

While the gallant Blucher was employed in

pursuing the flying enemy, the Duke of Wellington slowly led his army over the field of battle. The noise and confusion which so lately reigned were heard no more, and all was hushed and still; save when the moans of the wounded, or the agonizing shrieks of the dying burst upon the ear. The moon riding in unveiled majesty shed a pale and mournful light on the horrors of the scene. When the Duke contemplated the piles of dead which were heaped on every side, and thought, with the lives of how many brave fellows the glory of that day had been bought, and how many hearts even the joyful news of this victory would sadden, the sternness of the soldier was forgotten; the feelings of the man resumed their power, and he burst into tears*.

* How different were the feelings which his opponent displayed on similar occasions! When a body of recruits joined the army, the favourite expression of Napoleon was, "Ah! there is more food for the cannon." As he rode over the scene of contention, after one of his bloodiest victories, while the dead and the dying were trampled on at every step, he betrayed not a single emotion of pity, but turning to one of his officers he said with a smile, "My faith! there is a fine consumption."

His confidential valet thus describes his visit to the field of battle after the victory of Prussian Eylau: "It was piercingly cold. Some of the dying yet breathed. The immense heaps of dead bodies, and the black cavities which the blood had made in the snow, formed a horrible contrast. The officers of the staff were profoundly affected. The Emperor alone contemplated this scene of horror and blood without emotion. I pushed my horse some paces before him. I was curious to observe him in a

His troops were worn out with fatigue, and needed the refreshment of sleep, but to their everlasting honour be it recorded, that not a man indulged in the repose which nature so much required. They retrod the field of death. They sought for their wounded companions. They eagerly afforded them every assistance in their power, and having hastily dressed their wounds, despatched them to the hospitals of Antwerp and Brussels. Nor was their humanity confined to their countrymen, even those who so lately thirsted for their blood, those by whom their ranks had been thinned, shared in their tender care. In the left wing alone, more than five hundred French were indebted for their lives to the generosity and compassion of the British soldiers. In every part of the field the troops were seen diligently employed in constructing litters, and carefully conveying both friends and foes to a place of refuge and comfort.

In many places a still more interesting scene was

situation so interesting. You would have thought that he was devoid of all human affections. Not even one transient glance of pity beamed from his cold and impenetrable countenance. He spoke with the utmost indifference of the events of the preceding evening. As he passed before a group of Russian grenadiers, who had fallen together in defending the position assigned to them, the horse of one of his aides-de-camp started. The Emperor perceived it, 'That horse,' said he coldly, 'is a coward.' "

presented. The wounded British soldiers, after their own injuries had been attended to, were seen carefully and tenderly staunching the wounds of those whom a few hours before they had met in mortal combat. This was a spectacle which none but a British army would have afforded, and it formed a fine and affecting contrast with the murderous occupation of the Brunswickers and Prussians.

The very close of the battle had been destructive to many of the British officers. Sir Francis D'Oyly, of the first foot-guards, fell in the very last charge to which his regiment was led, and at the moment when the enemy was breaking and preparing to fly. Colonel Fitzgerald, of the second regiment of life-guards, likewise fell as he was cheering his men to pursue the foe who had given way, and were retiring in confusion.

Almost the last shot which was fired on the British wounded the gallant Earl of Uxbridge in the knee. He had personally led every charge of cavalry. He had exposed himself wherever danger threatened most, and was not wounded until almost all danger had ceased. The chair is yet shewn in the farm of La Belle Alliance in which his lordship sat, and endured the amputation of his leg without one groan or contortion of countenance. His noble exclamation in the midst of the operation is still remembered by those who

were present. “Who would not lose a leg for such a victory?”

The loss of the British in killed and wounded was acknowledged to be more than ten thousand men, but it actually doubled that number. The Prussians did not arrive until the affair was nearly decided: but the opposition which they experienced, though short, was obstinate, and many were killed in the pursuit. Their loss amounted to five or six thousand men. The loss of the French was immense and incalculable. It could not be exactly ascertained, because thousands of the soldiers, dispersed by the rapidity of their flight, never rejoined their regiments. But it is well known that, including the corps of Grouchy, not more than forty thousand were ever rallied or brought again into the field. In the short campaign, therefore, of four days, no less than eighty thousand men were lost to the French army, and of these, at least sixty or sixty-five thousand were killed, wounded, or prisoners. More than three hundred pieces of artillery were taken, and the whole *materiel* of the army*.

Thus ended the day of Waterloo; a day which

* It should be recorded to the honour of the King of France, that, anxious to spare the lives even of those who might be in arms against him, he sent twenty-five thousand pounds to Lord Wellington so early as the 30th of May, requesting him to insert in the Order of the Day, that every soldier should receive twenty shillings for each French prisoner which he might bring in.

will ever shine proudly resplendent in the annals of Britain, and be held in lasting remembrance by a grateful world. Never did France in her brightest days, send into the field a nobler army than that which fought at Waterloo. It was entirely composed of veterans, whom many years of service had accustomed to all the manœuvres of war, and rendered expert, fearless, determined, and in their own estimation, invincible ;—whose devotion to their leader was chivalrous, boundless, and sublime ;—who were animated by the deadliest hatred against their opponents ;—who fought to avenge their own private wrongs, as well as the injuries of their country ;—who had sworn to conquer or to die ;—who had, two days before, overcome the most celebrated general of northern Europe ;—and who, flushed with victory, were now rushing on a retreating foe, from whom indeed they expected a brave and obstinate resistance, but whom they were sure of conquering. This army was under the command of a general who had vanquished and overrun every state of Europe, and who had shewn, by the events of the four last days, that his eagles, lately checked in their flight, were once more triumphantly expanding their wings, and promising again to soar to the very pinnacle of glory ;—a general who again displayed all those super-eminent military talents which he was once supposed to possess, and who now availed himself of all the energies of his troops,

with a skill, promptitude, and resolution, which in no former combat were excelled.

Against this formidable and overwhelming force, the British general could only produce an army inferior in number ; somewhat dispirited at the retreat of the former day ; a little in awe of those who had vanquished the Prussians, and compelled the veteran Blucher to flee ;—an army, the greater part of which had now for the first time taken the field ;—an army composed of various, and perhaps discordant materials, and part of which might possibly deceive and betray him in the hour of peril. Yet with this disparity of force the illustrious Wellington fought and conquered.

The courage and impetuosity of the French had never been exceeded. Charges more desperate modern warfare had not witnessed. They even wondered at themselves, but they wondered more at the cool intrepidity with which the British sustained the shock, and beat them back almost without effort. In some instances the French were enabled to avail themselves of the slow or awkward manœuvres of inexperienced soldiers : they then overwhelmed the British squares, and almost annihilated their opponents. But where the battle could be contested on equal ground ; where their antagonists were prepared to receive the shock, their utmost fury was abruptly stopped. Under the eye of a British leader, and animated by the

example of British soldiers, the whole of the allied army performed prodigies of valour.

Napoleon had well studied the character of the French, and the system of warfare which he adopted, much as it has been censured, was best suited to their peculiar energies, and was the truest proof of his genius. The French soldiers are capable only of active courage. Their feelings must be highly wrought up: their energies must be called into full activity, and then they will effect wonders, and are almost invincible. Ardent, impetuous, enthusiastic, they brave every danger, and surmount every obstacle. But of passive courage they are incapable. When cool determined resolution is necessary, they too frequently deceive the hopes which are reposed on them.

On this principle Napoleon adopted his *en avant* system of tactics. The brilliant success which attended his career, until rendered insane by ambition he embattled the world against him, is a proof that he had calculated rightly. Never was this more decisively shewn than in the engagement of Waterloo. While the French were employed in a succession of desperate and murderous charges, they were all that their commander could wish. That the positions of their foes were not carried; that the day was not speedily their own, was owing to no want of gallantry on their part. Two days before they had beaten superior numbers, and older troops. But the British com-

mander, and the British soldiers, displayed an invincible obstinacy, on which Napoleon had not calculated; which would have foiled the attack of the bravest troops that the world can produce, and which must ever be regarded with admiration and astonishment. While the French were actively engaged, not even the unparalleled resolution which the Allies displayed could intimidate them. At the voice of their commander, they returned again and again to the charge with undiminished alacrity, and, at the very close of the day, the last and desperate attack of the guards was accompanied with the loud and rapturous shouts of "The Emperor for ever!"

But when the British were in their turn the assailants, the scene was suddenly and completely changed. They, whose bravery had excited the warmest applause of their enemies, became the veriest cowards. The first line was easily broken. The second offered no resistance. The whole army abandoned itself to a flight more disorderly and disgraceful, than any which the annals of ancient or modern warfare record. The old guard alone, who had never yet been known to yield, remained firm to their duty. In a retreat of forty miles few attempts were made, and not one with success, to retrieve the day, or to save the miserable wreck of the army; and at the dawn of the succeeding day, not a single battalion could be rallied, and the whole of this immense force was completely dispersed.

In both active and passive courage, the allies under a British commander had shewn themselves decidedly superior to the French. The tremendous and murderous charges of the foe were received with a courage that never faltered. Though their ranks were thinned, and their squares diminished ; they still presented a stern and unbroken front. Although at the close of the day some of the battalions were nearly annihilated, and the soldiers began to murmur, and almost to despair, yet they did not disgrace their character or their cause. It was not the murmur of fear, or the depression of cowardice. It was the complaint which protracted inactivity produced ; the irresistible and intolerable pain that arose from the long repression of their energies. They murmured not because they were forbidden to retreat before a superior and impetuous foe, but because they were restrained from fiercely rushing on him, and convincing him what British valour could do as well as bear. The moment the Duke ordered the general charge, every bosom swelled, every head was erect, every cheek was flushed, every eye glistened with delight, and one universal shout proclaimed their exultation. Though enfeebled by a contest of seven hours, their strength and activity were in an instant restored. They pressed on to the attack ; and in one moment the day was their own. They had withstood, without confusion or fear, innumerable charges of the enemy ; but the first charge which they

were permitted to make was successful, and the French were driven in total disorder from the field.

The victory was not more owing to the unequalled bravery of the troops, than to the skill, the gallantry, and the firmness of their illustrious commander. In all the great achievements which he had hitherto performed, he had never maintained so arduous a struggle, he had never gained so complete and glorious a triumph. In the whole course of the well-fought day, not one error can be laid to his charge. He penetrated, he anticipated every intention of the enemy ; and as if he had possessed the power of multiplying himself, was always found precisely on the spot where his skill and influence were most necessary to animate or direct his troops. He was prodigal of his person to an extent which nothing but the extraordinary nature and important results of the contest could warrant. Wherever danger was most imminent, there he was uniformly present. Did he require a charge more than usually desperate, he led it on himself. Did any of his squares appear to falter, he instantly placed himself in their centre, and there awaited the attack of the foe*. His staff rapidly fell around him:

* “ If such a trait,” said Mr. Whitbread, “ were recorded in history as having occurred ten centuries ago, with what emotions of admiration and generous enthusiasm would it be read ! To see a commander, of his eminence, throw himself into a hollow square of infantry as a secure refuge, till the rage and torrent of

Every one, except the Spanish General Alava, suffered in his person or his horse, yet he continued fearlessly to expose himself in the very thickest of the fire.

Often in the day he was urged by his officers, and wherever he appeared he was entreated by the men to lead them against the enemy. It does him infinite credit that he restrained the impatience of his troops till the decisive moment, and that not even the partial but brilliant success which attended the operations of several periods of the day could tempt him to depart from the prudent and well-digested plan on which he had determined to act.

Had he assumed offensive operations, he could scarcely hope to beat the superior numbers and veteran troops who were opposed to him ; or had he been victorious, all he could have effected, inferior as he was in cavalry, would have been to have compelled the French to a hasty, but orderly retreat ; and before Blucher could have been

the attack was past ; and that not once only, but twice or thrice in the course of the battle, proved that his confidence was placed not in any one particular corps but in the whole British army. In that mutual confidence lay the power and strength of the troops. The Duke of Wellington knew he was safe when he thus trusted himself to the fidelity and valour of his men ; and they knew and felt that the sacred charge thus confided to them, could never be wrested from their hands."

Debate on the grant to the Duke of Wellington, June 23, 1815.

up, they would have been intrenched behind the Dyle, and have bid defiance to the united attack of the Allies.

Until the arrival of the Prussians, the imperial guards and the sixth corps under Count Lobau, which afterwards so long sustained, and even repulsed the efforts of Bulow, had not fired a musket. They would have been immediately brought up to sustain the onset, and would have completely employed, or perhaps ultimately foiled his troops, who were diminished in numbers, and worn out with fatigue. By simply maintaining his ground until the reinforcements which he had been promised arrived on the flanks and rear of the enemy, he entertained the hope, a hope which did not deceive him, that he might not only defeat, but cut off and destroy the army of Napoleon.

Merely to have repulsed the French would have been to little purpose. The exaggerated statements of the victory of the 16th would have roused the enthusiasm of the people. The army of Napoleon would have been speedily reinforced ; while by bribes and promises, he might have succeeded in disuniting the confederacy, and producing the most fatal effect on the campaign. It was necessary to strike some decisive blow. Wellington anxiously awaited the favourable moment. He felt all the tortures of suspense, and sometimes he was nearly a prey to despair. At length

the artillery of the Prussians was heard on the left. After a violent and convulsive struggle the French began to waver. He perceived the first symptom of indecision, fear and disorder. His system of defence was instantly abandoned. He now gave loose to the long restrained and impetuous valour of his troops. He led on the whole line to the charge, and the decisive blow was struck. It produced all the consequences which the sagacious mind of Wellington had predicted. The tyrant was hurled from his throne and the deliverance of Europe accomplished.

The glory of the Duke of Wellington had now reached its highest pitch. Even Napoleon had long acknowledged that he was the second Captain of the age, and on the field of Waterloo he conquered the only General, who, in the opinion of the world, had ever been considered as his rival. His name will ever occupy the first and most honourable place in the long list of British heroes.

If any thing could add to the lustre of his fame it would be the singular modesty with which he relates the glorious and important events of the day. The concise simplicity of his despatch to government, forms a beautiful contrast with the French account of the victory of the 16th, and even with the gasconades respecting the contest of the 18th, which not even the consciousness of irreparable defeat could repress. The modesty

and candour, which a letter to his mother breathes are more honourable to him than even the matchless victory which he had atchieved. The heart which dictated the following sentence was framed in the true mould of honour. Speaking of Napoleon he says, "He did his duty,—he fought the battle with infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery, and this I do not state from any personal motive of claiming merit to myself, for the victory is to be ascribed to the superior physical force and constancy of British soldiers."

Had this formed part of a public harangue, its sincerity might have been doubted, but intended only to meet the eye of a beloved mother, from whom the most secret feelings of his bosom would not be concealed, and to whom the pen would faithfully delineate the unfeigned sentiments of the heart, it will immortalize him; and will be chosen as the proudest, and most characteristic motto to some distant, and faithful, and glowing record of his atchievements.

In a letter to his brother, the Hon. Wellesley Pole, he acknowledges with honourable frankness, "that he had never fought so hard for victory, and never, from the gallantry of the enemy, had he been so near beaten."

Among the many poetical effusions in praise of Wellington, with which the press has groaned, and the tediousness and tameness of which have proved the sad degeneracy of modern poetry, not

one has equalled the following spirited stanzas of Moore, written some years ago. Their exquisite beauty will rescue them from oblivion, without any commendation of the author of the present work.

While History's muse the memorial was keeping,

Of all the dark hand of Destiny weaves,

Beside her the Genius of Erin stood weeping ;

For her's was the story that blotted the leaves.

But oh ! how the tear in her eye-lids grew bright,

When, after whole pages of sorrow and shame,

She saw History write,

With a pencil of light,

That illum'd all the volume, her Wellington's name.

' Hail, star of my isle !' said the spirit all-sparkling

With beams such as break from her own dewy skies ;

' Through ages of sorrow deserted and darkling,

I've watched for some glory like thine to arise.

For though heroes I've number'd, unblest was their lot,

And unhallowed they lie in the cross-ways of fame.

But oh ! there is not

One dishonouring blot

On the wreath that encircles my Wellington's name.

And still the last crown of thy toils is remaining,

The grandest, the purest, e'en *thou* hast yet known.

Though proud was thy task other nations unchaining,

Far prouder to heal the deep wounds of thy own.

At the foot of that throne for whose weal thou hast stood,

Go plead for the land that first cradled thy fame,

And bright o'er the flood

Of her tears and her blood,

Let the rainbow of hope be her Wellington's name.'

The following list of our illustrious hero's European victories, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Roleia	Aug. 17, 1808.
Vimiera	Aug. 21,
Corunna	Jan. 16, 1809.
Oporto	May 12,
Talavera	July 27,
Busaco	Sept. 27, 1810.
Coimbra	Oct. 7,
Barossa	March 5, 1811.
Fuente de Onor ..	May 5,
Almeida	May 11,
Albuera	May 16,
Arroyo del Molino	Oct. 28,
Ciudad Rodrigo	Jan. 19, 1812.
Badajos	April 6,
Madrid	May 14,
Almarez	May 19,
Salamanca	July 22,
Castalla	May 12, 1813
Vittoria	June 21,
Pyrenees	July 25,
	26, 27, and 28,
St. Sebastian ..	Sept. 9,
Bidassoa	Oct. 9,
Pampeluna	Oct. 31,
Neive	Dec. 9,
	10, 11, 12, and 13,

Orthes	Feb. 27, 1814.
Toulouse	April 10,
Quatre Bras	June 16, 1815.
Waterloo.....	June 18.

But while we dwell with fond enthusiasm on the glory of the British and their illustrious commander, the obligations which they owed to the Prussians must not be forgotten. Had it not been for the opportune arrival of Bulow the British army must have speedily retreated, and the day would have been lost. Though the repeated efforts of the enemy had hitherto been baffled, it was not possible but such heroic exertions must have a limit. The corps of Lobau and the formidable imperial guards would have been directed on the weakened and harassed battalions of the Allies, and though no route would have followed like that which disgraced the French, yet the position must have been abandoned, Brussels exposed, and, as Napoleon affirms, the confederacy dissolved, and his throne assured. The important assistance derived from the Prussians, cannot be better described than in the words of Wellington himself, and they afford another specimen of that candour and modesty which more pleasingly and attractively displayed the merit which they seemed to conceal.

‘ I should not,’ says the Duke, ‘ do justice to

my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance received from them.

The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one, and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.'

Blucher was confined to his bed, from the effect of the contusions which he had received on the 16th, when a messenger from Wellington informed him that the British and French were in sight of each other, and that an engagement was momentarily expected. At this intelligence he forgot his bruises and his pains, and promptly issuing his orders, was in less than an hour at the head of his troops, and in full march to the assistance his friend.

At half-past four o'clock two brigades alone had been able to clear the defiles of St. Lambert, and reach their appointed position. With these the attack was instantly commenced. As the other divisions arrived they successively engaged, and it was not until half-past seven that the corps of Ziethen appeared, and forming a junction with the left wing of the British decided the fate of the day.

If during three hours the French were able to keep in check, and sometimes to repulse the vigorous attacks of their new assailants, amounting to forty-five or fifty thousand men, it is easy to conclude that it must ultimately have gone hard with the British had not the Prussians arrived.

Both nations equally claim a share in the honours of the victory ; the British for having so long sustained the determined and furious attack of superior numbers, and for having at the close of the day thrown the enemy into confusion by their brilliant charge ; and the Prussians for occupying all the French reserves, when they were about to be directed against the weakened lines of the British to whom the contest was becoming every moment more unfavourable,—for producing that impression of being cut off, which caused the unparalleled confusion and dismay of the enemy,—for preventing the possibility of their rallying, and effecting the total dissolution of their army by an active and incessant pursuit. In truth they have an equal title to the honours of the day, and the united names of Wellington and Blucher will descend to posterity, as the conquerors at Waterloo and the deliverers of Europe.

I will conclude this long chapter by an extract from the eloquent description which Lord Castlereagh gave of this all-interesting contest in his speech on a motion for presenting the thanks of

the house of commons to Wellington and his brave associates.

“Never” said he, “among the mighty achievements which have swelled our military renown, since the illustrious Duke of Wellington has been placed at the head of our army, has it been my lot to submit to parliament a proposition founded on an event so glorious as that which calls for the expression of our gratitude to-day. It is a triumph of such a character, that, without disparagement to those actions in which his great genius has been formerly displayed, it may be truly affirmed that it never happened, even to him, to confer so great a benefit on his country before. It is an achievement of such high merit, of such pre-eminent importance, as never graced the annals of this or any other country until now: and when considered, not only with a view to the immediate loss inflicted on the enemy, but with reference to the moral effect which it must produce on the war now commenced, and in the issue of which the fate of England, of Europe, and the world, are so closely bound up, it opens before us a prospect so cheering, and so transcendently bright, that no language can do justice to the feelings it must naturally inspire.

“There was something in the situation of the hostile armies, which, without detracting from the high merit and military skill of the great commanders who placed the allied force in the position that it

occupied, gave the enemy a decided advantage. It had been necessary to distribute the combined armies where sustenance could most conveniently be procured, there to await the arrival of the innumerable forces, by which one simultaneous attempt was to be made to crush the power of the enemy. Ere these forces were collected, the enemy had an awful advantage, and might choose on what part of the scattered troops he would direct his first attack. The Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher could not concentrate their forces, without leaving a large portion of Belgium exposed.

“It was the evident policy of Buonaparte to attack some point of this extended line before the Russians arrived. Whatever might be the risk of assailing the armies under the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher, it is obvious that if he could bring them into action, before they were supported by the armies advancing to co-operate with them, the chance of success would be greater than that which would remain to him after they had actually got up. Buonaparte considered this, and formed his resolve with all that judgment and decision of character which belonged to him, when he determined on the forward movement which terminated so gloriously for the British and their Allies. He advanced with the flower of the French army, brought together from all parts of Europe where they had

been prisoners, and concentrated for this desperate attack. They were in a high state of organization before the return of Buonaparte to France ; and since his restoration to power, every care and preparation has been accumulated upon them to add to their efficiency. To this was opposed a young and green army, the greater part of which had never been in action before ; an army, composed of different nations, and therefore more difficult to manage ; and an army far inferior in numbers to the French. Yet for nine hours did it repulse all the attacks made by the French army, directed by Buonaparte in person. The powerful and often repeated efforts directed against it wholly failed. During the whole of the day, the British stood immoveable, nor was there any species of heroism, or of military science, which could adorn a field of battle, which was not here displayed by the Duke of Wellington.

“ He owed much to the illustrious warrior of Prussia. Had they not done as they did, the British commander, consistently with those military principles by which his conduct is regulated, could never have acted on the offensive. Had they had not shewn themselves as they had done, to ensure complete success if the attack made any impression, and to prevent disaster if it failed, the Duke of Wellington would not have been able to take that course which the energy of his mind

prompted, and which was encouraged by the example of his person. It is painful to reflect that that invaluable life was exposed to more danger in this action than that of the meanest soldier. The common soldier had only his local duties to perform, but the Duke of Wellington was every where in the heat of the action, and every where in the presence of danger.

“ Having remained on the defensive for nine hours, the moment at length arrived, when he saw there was a prospect of acting on the offensive with success. He then ordered the line to advance. The shock was irresistible. The French could not resist our attacks as we had resisted theirs. Their ranks were broken. Their first line was thrown into disorder on the second, and they soon betook themselves to flight, in the greatest confusion. What the final result may be I cannot presume to predict, but it is glorious to reflect, that the Duke of Wellington was enabled, at the close of a day in which he had obtained a most splendid victory, to hand over the pursuit to the Prussian army, which, compared with the English or the French army, was fresh and ready to receive the charge.

“ It must however be acknowledged, that the plan of Buonaparte, though completely frustrated, was not unwise, for if he could not beat the forces under the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blu-

cher while they were unsupported, he could have no hope of finding a more favourable opportunity when the Allied armies had reached the frontiers. But defeated by the valour and military skill opposed to him, he is now thrown back upon France, and new strength is added to the confederated powers."

CHAPTER IV.

Flight of Napoleon.—Narrow Escape at Genappe.—Arrival at Paris.—State of Parties there—Conference with the Ministers.—Determination not to dissolve the Chambers.—Fouché.—The Princess Hortensia.—The Council.—Tumultuous Meeting of the Deputies.—Decided Conduct of La Fayette.—Declaration of the Chamber that their Sitting was permanent.—Grand Council in the Evening.—Their Determination.—Agitation of the different Parties.—Meeting of the Deputies.—Motion for the Forfeiture of the Crown.—The Decision suspended for an Hour.—Irresolution of Napoleon.—Interview with Lucien.—Regnault.—Solignac.—Abdication of Napoleon.—Reflections on it.

NAPOLÉON remained in the hollow under the British lines, until he had witnessed the defeat of his last hope, the hitherto invincible guards; he then hastily retired to his former position near the farm of La Belle Alliance. Here he beheld with vexation, rage, and despair, the superb charge of the whole British line, the feeble resistance which his troops opposed, the strange and irremediable

confusion which so soon pervaded his whole army, and the noble stand which was made by the remaining battalions of his old and favourite guard. During the day, except when he had yielded to momentary fits of rage at the unexpected and unconquerable obstinacy of the British, he had been cool and collected, and had fought the battle with more than usual skill. But he was now suddenly bereft of the powers of recollection and motion, and stood an image of horror and despair. Some occasional indistinct and incoherent expressions of admiration of his faithful and devoted guard, or of fierce indignation at the cowardice of the rest of his troops, alone shewed that he breathed. In vain his officers applied to him for orders ; in vain one messenger after another demanded what was to be done in different parts of the field. He heard them not. He was incapable of reply. " My guard, my faithful guard !" he exclaimed. A moment afterwards he added " Ah ! the game is indeed lost, and ——." He was now surrounded and borne away by crowds of fugitives. Some of his officers who had not separated from him during the battle, broke through the crowd, and forced him along with them, almost unconscious of life.

For a few moments they sought refuge in the cottage of a shepherd, near La Belle Alliance ; but the Prussian hussars began to scour the field in every direction. Napoleon had now somewhat recovered himself : but it had become impossible

to issue any orders. He had no aides-de-camp by whom to send them, nor did he know where to find the commander of a single division. He was therefore compelled to abandon his army to their fate, and to seek his own safety in the most rapid flight.

As Napoleon and his suite issued from the cottage and galloped across the plain to reach some of his equipage, they saw several parties of Prussian hussars busily employed in the work of plunder or death. Fortunately they were not perceived, and Napoleon was conducted in safety to one of his carriages. He drove furiously towards Genappe. Having arrived there he found the streets completely thronged with carriages of every description. They were all obliged to defile over one bridge, and in their haste to rush on and effect their escape, they impeded each other's progress, and produced the most fatal confusion. For more than an hour he remained entangled in the crowd, which resisted every effort that even royal authority could make to open a passage. Every moment new crowds of fugitives, cavalry, infantry, guns, baggage-waggons, and carriages of every kind, rushed into the place, increased the tumult, and rendered the passage of the bridge impracticable.

To complete the horror of the scene the Prussians now approached. Their shouts were distinctly heard, and the shrieks of the miserable wretches who were perishing under their sabres.

The streets were hastily barricadoed, and every preparation which fear or despair could suggest was made for a last defence. The issue of this contest has already been described. The Prussians broke through every obstacle, and entered the town at full speed.

The carriage of Napoleon was soon recognised, and the conquerors dashed at it, hoping to secure the most invaluable of all prizes, the person of the Emperor himself. The coachman was on the box, and the postilion had mounted the leaders, and they were making a desperate attempt to force their way through the throng. The Prussian officer who headed the foremost troop eagerly called to the coachman to stop, but he only lashed his horses with greater violence. The hussars then cut down the postilion, and killed the leaders, while the sabre of the officer brought the coachman from his box with a single stroke*. He

* The carriage of Napoleon was afterwards brought to England by Major Von Kohler, into whose hands it fell, and is now exhibited (Jan. 1, 1816) at Mr. Bullock's Museum, in Piccadilly. The history of this vehicle is remarkable, and many circumstances render it an object of much curiosity. It was built at Brussels, to convey Napoleon on his ill-fated expedition to Russia. It travelled as far as Moscow, and constituted almost the whole of the equipage, either of himself or his army, which escaped in his disastrous retreat. It afterwards carried him to Dresden, and brought him back a second time in disgrace to France. After the campaign of Paris, it bore him to the shores of the Mediterranean, and was shipped with him for Elba. It was there used in all his excursions round that island; indeed he would never enter any other vehicle. When he planned his bold

then violently tore open the door of the carriage, and deemed the prize his own. As he opened the door, he saw the Emperor escape from the opposite side, and ere the Prussian could hastily pass round the carriage, Napoleon had mounted a horse, and was instantly lost in the throng. In his haste he dropped his hat, his sword, and his mantle, which were found in the road by the side of the carriage.

attempt to regain his throne, his troops were suffered to take neither equipage or baggage, but the favourite travelling carriage of the Emperor was carefully shipped, and landed at Cannes. His triumphant journey to Paris was performed in it, nor would he quit it, although the state carriages were despatched from Paris to convey him in triumph to his capital. When he departed to join his armies in the north of France, this chariot again accompanied him, and in it his political career seems to have terminated.

It much resembles a modern fashionable English travelling carriage, except that it has some appearance of heaviness. Its colour is dark blue, bordered with gold, and emblazoned with the Imperial arms of France. The lamps have a curious appearance, one is at each corner, and another in the centre of the back, which enlightens the interior of the carriage.

The interior is arranged in a way of which no description can convey an adequate idea, and the author recommends those who have the opportunity, to inspect the most perfect specimen of elegance and convenience which was ever beheld. It is a complete bed-room, dressing-room, eating-room, kitchen, and office. Packed up in the most ingenious way, are a complete breakfast service for tea, coffee, and chocolate, including a spirit lamp; sandwich service, consisting of plates, knives, forks, spoons, salt, pepper and mustard boxes, decanter and glasses, a dressing-case, containing every possible article for the toilette, a complete wardrobe, a bedstead, bed, mattresses, and all so arranged as to be found in an instant, without incommoding the traveller.

The peasant who had hitherto acted as guide had not yet quitted him. He had forgotten, or did not know that there was another bridge over the river at a little distance from Genappe, by which the Emperor might have continued his retreat without impediment.

Attended by a few faithful officers, Napoleon now galloped furiously towards Charleroi. As he passed he was frequently recognized by the fugitives who crowded the road. "There goes the Emperor—The Emperor for ever!" they cried to one another. As often as these words resounded in his ears he redoubled his speed. The enemy followed close at his heels. The enthusiasm of his followers might impede and betray him, and his only hope consisted in effecting his escape unobserved and unknown. Had any number of his troops collected around him, he could not have abandoned them, and their appearance would have attracted the attention of the enemy, and directed them to their prey.

A little before he arrived at Charleroi he halted, and a fire being kindled, partook of the first refreshment which he had tasted during fourteen hours. He was now accompanied by eight of his confidential officers. He here dismissed his guide, and again taking horse pursued his course to Charleroi.

Here he made one ineffectual attempt to rally the fugitives, but totally failing to accomplish his

object, hastened towards Philippeville. The gates were shut, and he was obliged to submit to the interrogation of the guard, and await the arrival of the governor before he could gain admittance. He entered with his little suite, and the barriers were again closed.

The news of his arrival at Philippeville was soon spread abroad, and the fugitive soldiers who thronged every avenue to the place, and whose numbers every moment increased, halted under the walls. They were influenced to this by a double motive. They thought it their duty to rally round their beloved general, for he was yet beloved by them*, and once more united to him,

* Mr. Simpson, in his visit to Flanders, witnessed some extraordinary and truly sublime instances of their undiminished attachment. As he passed through the hospitals at Antwerp, one man was pointed out who had tossed his own amputated arm in the air with a feeble shout of "The Emperor for ever!" Another, at the moment of the preparations to take off his leg, declared that there was something he knew of would cure him on the spot, and save his limb and the operator's trouble. When asked to explain this wild remark, he said, "A sight of the Emperor." The amputation did not save him. He died in the surgeon's hands, and his last words, steadfastly looking on his own blood, were that he would cheerfully shed the last drop in his veins for the great Napoleon.

A singularly wild and almost poetic fancy, was the form in which a third bore his testimony to his enthusiasm for his chief. He was undergoing with matchless steadiness the extraction of a ball from his left side. In the middle of the operation he exclaimed "An inch deeper and you will find the Emperor!"

Simpson's Visit to Flanders, p. 16.

they hoped to find in his name and in his genius a defence from the dangers to which they were exposed. Napoleon was anxious to proceed to Paris to counteract the machinations of his enemies, and to find the means of repairing his losses. The affectionate zeal of his soldiers would have delayed his progress, he therefore ordered the gates to be kept shut, and though he had now the power of rallying himself or by means of his officers, a sufficient force to check the progress of the pursuers, yet as that would interfere with his own private designs, he suffered the disorderly flight of his army to continue. He even sought to complete and hasten the route, and for this purpose secretly despatched some emissaries from the town who making a short circuit, and then suddenly presenting themselves on the road from Charleroi, vociferated "The Prussians! The Prussians!" The scheme perfectly succeeded. They who were so eager again to see their Emperor and form a sacred guard around him, felt their former panic return, and hastily fled in every direction, spreading wherever they went the report that the Emperor was blockaded in Philippeville.

After having passed some hours at Philippeville, and endeavoured to take that repose which his wearied powers demanded, but which distraction and despair would not permit him to enjoy, he continued his route to Mezieres, and at the approach of night arrived at Rocroi. He was

solicited to remain here by an immense crowd of the inhabitants, who hailed his escape with the most rapturous shouts, but he peremptorily refused their request, and hastily resuming his journey, arrived at Paris at nine o'clock on the evening of the 20th.

During the absence of Napoleon from Paris, the different parties into which the ministry and the chambers were divided had not been idle. Many were the secret conferences which had been held, and intrigue had been busy in every department of the government. All parties were agreed that if Napoleon was victorious at the outset of the campaign, his influence over the army and the people would be so great, that resistance to his government would be vain. They were therefore ready to rally round him with apparent zeal, and to assist him with the united energies of the nation. The independence of France would thus be asserted; all foreign interference, so humiliating to their pride, would be defeated, and they consoled themselves with the hope that all the promises which Napoleon had given to regard the liberties, and consult the real welfare of France would not, could not be violated.

But should disgrace and defeat attend his first enterprise, many had determined to cast off his yoke, and to cause him to abdicate the throne which he had usurped. Some, with Fouché at their head, hoped to prevent the desolation of

France, by making their peace with the Bourbons, and again recalling that family, whom they trusted the new and severe lesson which they had received had at length taught wisdom. Others, believing that the allies would be faithful to their declarations, and permit them to choose their government and their chief, proposed to offer the crown to the Duke of Orleans, the only one of the ill-advised family of the Bourbons, who seemed to have imbibed those principles of moderation, which the king really possessed, but had not the firmness to make them the rule and guide of his administration. Another party, whose leader was the virtuous La Fayette, hoped that France might at length be permitted to enjoy some splendid and sublime constitution approaching to the boasted but delusive models of the ancient republics.

These three parties formed the decided majority of the deputies, and a considerable proportion of the peers. They would all cordially and zealously unite in accomplishing the abdication of Napoleon, and combining the greater part of the talents and influence of the government and the people, they would be irresistible.

The faithful adherents of Napoleon were comparatively few. They consisted of those who were indebted to him for their honours and emoluments, or whose zeal in his cause, and the crimes which they had committed for his sake, would expose them to the vengeance of the Bourbons.

To these might be added a small number of consistent and virtuous men who felt the sacredness of an oath, and could not so soon violate that which they had taken to defend the person and the throne of the Emperor. The chief of these was the severe and inflexible Carnot.

Napoleon had diligently watched the formation and designs of these parties, and many were the conferences between him, his brother Lucien, and some confidential friends, respecting the measures which it would be advisable for him to adopt. Lucien, misled by the affection which he bore his brother, and somewhat compromising the consistency of his character, strenuously advised that, if reverses should attend the opening of the campaign, Napoleon should avail himself of the powers which the constitution gave him, and by dissolving the chambers, deprive his enemies of the opportunity to injure him. He added, that the urgency of circumstances, and the necessity of deviating from those measures which suited only a state of peace, and providing for the defence of the nation in a more expeditious way than the slow and tedious forms of the constitution allowed, would afford him a colourable pretext, and justify him in the estimation of the people. The vanity of the Emperor, and the fondness for despotic principles which, supposing him to have been sincere in his determination to respect the liberties of the French, still lurked in his bosom, inclined

him to listen to this advice ; but some doubt of the practicability of so bold and decisive a measure, more apprehension of its consequences, and (may the historian add ?) a resolution which he had not yet quite abandoned to reign a constitutional monarch, prevented Napoleon from acceding to the advice. In fact, nothing was determined, and the Emperor departed for the north, hoping that some brilliant exploit might render unnecessary a scheme so hazardous and objectionable. He was fully conscious how much depended on the opening of the campaign, and this accounts for the frantic eagerness with which he followed the successes that he at first obtained. On parting with one of his confidential friends his last words were, "I have lost one game ; but here goes, double or quit."

As soon as the news of the battles of Charleroi arrived in Paris, the exultation of the friends of Napoleon knew no bounds. Their most sanguine expectations were exceeded. The moderate party likewise rejoiced in the intelligence. The glory and independence of France were dear to them. Their opposition to the Emperor was abandoned, and they were preparing to call into action, in his favour, all the resources of the country. On the following day a second bulletin was published, in the true style of Napoleon. The enemy had been overthrown at every point ; the Prussians were dispersed, and would give no further trouble ; the

English were fast retreating to Brussels, and the victorious columns of the French pressed close upon them. The days of Jena, Austerlitz, and Marengo, were not to be compared with the engagements of Quatre Bras and Ligny.

Two days of painful suspense and anxious expectation now passed, when on the 20th, in the afternoon, it began to be whispered that affairs were not going on well,—that the army had sustained a great and irreparable defeat,—that Jerome was wounded, the Emperor killed, and Wellington and Blucher in full march for Paris. The city now poured out its immense population. Every street was thronged. All hastened towards the Thuilleries, and each one anxiously inquired of his neighbour what was the news. The most ridiculous and the most horrible stories were circulated. The Buonapartists hoped that Napoleon was preparing in his usual way for the full effect of the news of some brilliant and decisive victory, by the previous dissemination of doubtful or unfavourable intelligence. But every moment's arrival of travellers and couriers from the north weakened the hope to which they fondly clung, and when at length it was rumoured that the Emperor had arrived, the real state of affairs was sufficiently plain. His arrival was the infallible signal of some dire and irretrievable disaster.

At nine o'clock three chariots covered with dust entered the courts of the palace of Elysée. They

were not immediately recognised by the crowd, and the gates were rapidly closed behind them *. From the first descended General Drouet, who advancing to a friend that stood by, squeezed him convulsively by the hand, and muttered, "We are all done for!" The third carriage drew up and prevented all further explanation. It was opened, and in the bottom lay a person pale, exhausted, and his arm in a sling. As he slowly alighted, Napoleon, who was behind him, pushed him along, threw him down on the steps of the palace, sprung forward, rushed up the stairs, and entered the apartments without speaking a word, or looking at a single person. His attendants hastened after him. As he approached the door of the saloon he suddenly stopped, cast a look of inexpressible anguish on Drouet, exclaimed—"Dis-honoured! disgraced!" and hurrying into the apartment threw himself on one of the sofas and covered his face with his hands. These were the first words he had spoken during the last four and twenty hours.

Presently he arose and entered his cabinet. Some despatches were laid before him. One was from the princess Hortensia. He recognised the

* For much valuable information respecting the events of this and the following night, the author is indebted to an interesting pamphlet by M. St. Didier, private secretary to Napoleon, entitled "*Nuits de l'Abdication de l'Empereur Napoleon.*"

hand, and eagerly seizing it, pressed it to his lips. Having read it he immediately wrote a reply, and demanded some refreshment. Some soup was brought him, and he ate it voraciously. He then ordered his Secretary to write to the Duke of Bassano (Maret), and to Count Regnault de Saint Jean D'Angely, requiring their immediate attendance. Having taken off his boots he ordered one of the pages to wake him as soon as the ministers arrived, and throwing himself in his clothes on a sofa instantly fell into a sound sleep. The author makes no apology for the minuteness of this detail. The most trifling circumstances connected with the close of the career of such a man as Napoleon acquire unusual interest.

M. St. Didier gives an interesting account of an interview which took place between him and General Drouet while the Emperor slept. Drouet had not quitted Napoleon during the whole of the battle of the 18th. His opinion of the affair is therefore important. The detailed account which he gave of the engagement, in the chamber of peers, will be preserved in the appendix.

“After the first advantages at Charleroi,” said the general to his friend, “and the brilliant affair of Fleurus, we lost every thing, from two evident causes, to which a third might be added, which was more strongly felt, but not so well proved. The first of these causes is the inflexibility of the Emperor, who, at the end of two days of victory,

was desirous of astonishing the world, of giving confidence to France, and spreading consternation over Europe by a third decisive triumph. This was a sublime but frantic project, which must necessarily enthrone the conqueror in the opinion of the world, or, if vanquished, lead him to a scaffold:—a project which was seen into by the prudent Wellington, and which he disconcerted by leading on its heroic and extravagant author to the very gulf in which his power, his influence, and almost his very glory were to expire. In reality, the third battle, which we call the battle of Mont St. Jean, from the name of the village which was the principal scene of action, and which the enemy will call the battle of Waterloo, from another village occupied by the English, or that of La Belle Alliance, from the name of a castle, which was occupied as the head-quarters of Blucher:—this third action, after balancing the victory by turns, which made it (if I may use the expression) fly backward and forward from the French colours to those of the Allies, from noon till eight in the evening, has demonstrated how the negative quality, patience, could disconcert the combinations of a rash and impetuous general. Here then is the second cause of our defeat. The prudent conqueror of Salamanca, of Toulouse, of Vittoria, by a manœuvre worthy his immortal genius (though as it was purchased with the loss of some of his choicest troops), constrained the fiery

victor of the Pyramids, of Marengo, of Austerlitz, of Friedland, of Jena, to lower his humbled laurels before those whom he had so often vanquished. I shall attribute the third cause of our defeat, to intrigue, to corruption, to treason. These, united together, have produced mistrust, *misintelligence*, fear and disorder. History will search into these sources, which I can but point out; but to which the Allies (whose bravery I am nevertheless very ready to admit), and above all the private enemies and the personal competitor of Buonaparte, undoubtedly owe their success. Let them make haste to secure their triumph, and to make the best use of their victory, for the lion is not dead, but only wounded."

The treason to which Drouet refers has never been proved, and in fact had no existence. The Allies owe not their success to any "mistrust, or *misintelligence*, but to their own invincible courage and the skill of their commanders. When the French found that the troops who were advancing on their rear, and whom they had been solemnly and repeatedly assured were the reinforcements of Grouchy, were actually the Prussians,—when Blucher and Ziethen, joining the left wing of the enemy swept every thing before them,—and when the British, whom they had been taught to believe were nearly annihilated, and incapable of further resistance, rushed upon them with resistless force, there needed no treason to produce

that universal and fatal panic which withered the laurels of Napoleon, and hurled him from his throne.

The night was far advanced when Napoleon awakened, and the ministers arrived. As the Secretary placed himself at the table to take notes of the proceedings, Napoleon remarked his paleness and agitation. "What!" said he, "Drouet has been informing you of the affair. An evil which may be repaired is not a great one, and even if it were irreparable we should submit with becoming resignation. Sit down and write."

The bulletin of the battle of Mont St. Jean was now drawn up. Napoleon dictated the greater part of it, and then gave it to Regnault to correct. The Emperor now paced the room with rapid strides, biting his nails, and taking snuff every moment. The correction of the bulletin was finished. Maret had a cold and reserved air, Regnault was more affected. He stood at the table unconsciously drawing lines with his pencil on the bulletin which lay before him. Now and then he raised his eyes, and regarded Napoleon with a look of anxiety, pity, and affection. The Emperor continued to pace the room with more rapid steps; at length he suddenly stopped. "Well! this bulletin?" he exclaimed.

"Here it is corrected," answered the Count.

"Let us see," said the Emperor.

Regnault began to read it. The Emperor

frequently interrupted him, "It was gained! It was gained! The victory was mine." When the bulletin was concluded, he added with a sigh, "It is lost! and with it my glory."

Count Regnault.—"You can oppose fifty victories against one defeat."

The Duke of Bassano.—"This defeat is decisive; the Emperor is right."

The Emperor.—"They are not accustomed to conquer, they will abuse their victory."

The Duke.—"Those to whose cowardice Wellington's bravery has given a triumph, are more your enemies than the English and Prussians."

The Count.—"The republicans will lament, but they will endeavour to profit from the circumstance."

The Emperor.—"They will do well, at least the glory and liberty of the country will remain untouched. If the royalists should prevail, it is only from their being supported by the strangers."

The Duke.—"The courage of the royalists is in the head of Wellington and in the arm of Blucher."

The Count.—"That which is most pressing is to stop Wellington and Blucher."

The Duke.—"How? the army no longer exists, and the frontier is uncovered."

The Count.—"The frontier is uncovered, but

the army exists ; nothing more is requisite than to rally it."

The Emperor.—" The army will rally of itself ; we must re-organize it, and repair its losses."

" The Duke.—" Can you depend on Marshal Soult and Grouchy ?"

The Emperor.—" Grouchy is an honest but weak man ; Soult has given pledges."

The Count.—" The army will reorganize itself, but the brigades are incomplete."

The Emperor.—" Let the ministers be convoked forthwith. I wish the chambers to be made acquainted with every thing this very night."

The Duke.—" The parties are about to put themselves in motion."

The Count.—" The parties, in motion for a considerable time past, are about to recognise each other, to measure their strength, and to make attempts."

The Emperor.—" So much the better: their masks will fall off, and the public will know them, as for me, I have, long since,—Call the ministers. A report must be drawn up:—the truth must be told. If all patriotism, if all honour be not dead, will the chambers refuse me men and money ?"

The Duke.—" They will speak of sparing the water and the engine, when the house is on fire."

The Count.—“ A dictatorship has been foolishly objected to. It is the measure which, at this day, would save every thing.”

The Emperor.—I have commenced a constitutional monarchy.—Convoke the ministers.”

The Duke.—“ No dictatorship ! but at the same time no indignities !—If we are attacked we will defend ourselves.”

The Emperor.—“ Ah, my old guard ! will they defend themselves like thee ?”

Regnault now took his leave, but Maret remained with the Emperor who, notwithstanding his fatigue, gave audience to Cambacères, Decrés, Caulincourt, and Carnot, who hastened to him as soon as they heard of his arrival, and eagerly proffered their services. The dictatorship was again discussed, but Napoleon would not consent. The danger of the chambers proceeding to extremities against him, and even depriving him of the crown was hinted. To this he would not listen for a moment. He affirmed that the thing was impossible. They could not so soon forget the oath which they had taken to him. At all events the truth should be fairly told them ; he would put their fidelity and patriotism to the test, and he did not doubt that he should afterwards be able to foil any attempt which they might make against him.

Napoleon had never fully confided in any of his ministers. In addition to the general police

of Fouché he had established a private police of his own, by whose means he was enabled to estimate their fidelity, and to arrive at many truths which they would willingly have concealed from him. An agent of this police was now introduced who reported to him the proceedings of the different parties during his absence, and their present intentions and strength. He had just begun to peruse the document when Fouché arrived. He professed his deep regret at the events that had occurred, and his unshaken fidelity and affection. He endeavoured to calm the agitation of the Emperor. He assured him the evil was not irremediable; that the parties were tranquil, and meditated no design against his person or authority, and that he might confidently rely on their zealous co-operation in re-organizing the army and defending the country. On these grounds he opposed the dismissal of the chambers, and the assumption of the dictatorship, as measures which were perfectly unnecessary, and which must occasion much dissatisfaction and disgust.

Napoleon listened to him with embarrassment and doubt. He hoped that the minister of the police might be credited in the report which he gave, but he had private reasons of his own for suspecting it. The Emperor expressed his determination to adhere to the forms of the constitution, and to respect the existence and privileges of the chambers, and he rather abruptly dismissed the

minister appointing a meeting of the council at eight o'clock, when the state of the public feeling might be discussed, and the necessary measures adopted.

In this proceeding Fouché acted with much dissimulation. He had long determined that if reverses attended Napoleon, he would abandon his cause, and court the favour of the Bourbons. Knowing the decided and impetuous character of Napoleon, and his latent inclination towards despotic power, he feared that he might assume the dictatorship and dissolve the chambers before any preparation could be made to resist him. His object, therefore, in this visit was to delude and impose upon his master by a false report of the state of parties. He hoped that time might thus be gained;—that the chambers might be on their guard;—that they might be able to rally round them a sufficient defence, and that the ambitious projects of Napoleon or his advisers might be rendered abortive. He succeeded; or rather Napoleon was not then so unprincipled or so much a despot as he imagined. The favourable moment for assuming the dictatorship was lost, and France was saved from devastation and ruin. In this Fouché displayed some dexterity, and perhaps flattered himself that he was guided by truly patriotic views, but it will be difficult to deny that he wilfully and deliberately deceived and betrayed the sovereign whom he had sworn faithfully to serve.

When Fouché was departed, the Emperor remained absorbed in thought. “Every thing,” said he to himself, “is according to him tranquil, and I have only to speak to obtain all that I can desire. Which then is right, this report or he? Ah! Fouché is a traitor: I have long suspected, long known him. I will, I must believe this report which accords so well with what I anticipate, and which has never deceived me.” He then commanded his secretary to make three copies of the report, one of which he sent to Carnot, and another to Regnault asking their advice. The third copy he retained himself and burned the original. The substance of the document was as follows:—

“The uneasiness is universal, but the more concealed as it becomes more general. There are meetings almost every night at the house of C—— a principal agent of the party of the *Fédérés*. Another meeting at the house of L—— is composed of Royalists. This meeting is by no means dangerous, nor will it become so, but in case of the enemy’s success. The deputies are less timid. Yesterday one of them proposed that during the Emperor’s absence a commission of *surveillance* should be appointed, composed indifferently of members of the chambers, or other persons, to which commission Prince Joseph and the council of regency should be obliged to render an account. This motion will be made on the first news of

success, under the pretext that the Emperor will seize that occasion to extend his constitutional authority. The royalists and the republicans of the assembly will come to an understanding. They will come to a much more perfect understanding should there be a reverse. The royalists wish it, and it is certainly believed that they will organize more than one reverse, which will be imputed to the Emperor, whose spirit, they say, begins to droop. This is what they also say of Carnot, on account of his late report. The patriots, however, do not wish for disasters, but if any should happen, they will be ready to profit by them."

The agent of Napoleon had rightly estimated the public feelings, and the Emperor might have predicted what afterwards occurred. But his vanity would not let him suppose that they aimed at his abdication. He would not believe that they or France could do without him: and he merely anticipated some rigorous exactions in favour of liberty as the price of the assistance which they afforded him.

The Princess Hortensia was now introduced. She had always been a favourite with Napoleon, and was supposed to have considerable interest with him, an interest which she never exerted for any bad purpose. Report had confidently spoken of the intimate and incestuous connexion which subsisted between them, but public opinion likewise agreed that she uniformly exerted her influ-

ence over him, however it might have been acquired, in advocating every cause of justice and mercy.

She was pale, agitated, and nearly fainting. With all the eloquence which her affection for him could inspire, she urged him to endeavour to obtain a peace. She painted in sad and melancholy colours the calamities which hung over France, and the dangers which threatened himself—and she besought him, by his love for France, by his attachment to her, by his regard for his own safety, to dismiss every ambitious project, every thought of revenge, and, ere it was too late, save his country and himself. He listened to her with impatience and anger. He often strode across the room, then suddenly seated himself, and in a moment started up again, and replied to her only by half and disjointed sentences. He often repeated with vehemence, “The Bourbons, the English, dishonour!” till at length, in a moment of greater passion, stamping with his foot, and furiously striking on the table with his hand, he threw down some books on her foot, and considerably hurt her.

Uncertain whether this personal violence was intended, her tears redoubled, and she could scarcely support herself. Napoleon was sensibly affected. He took her affectionately by the hand, expressed his sorrow at the consequences of his unruly temper, and promised that as far as the in-

terest of France and his own glory would permit, he would think of, and grant her request. Her countenance instantly brightened, her fears and her pain were forgotten. The cloud for a moment left Napoleon's brow. One of those expressive and insinuating smiles played upon his lips, which sometimes formed so strange a contrast with the usual coldness and sternness of his countenance, and affectionately saluting her, he led her to the door and dismissed her.

It was now nearly eight o'clock, and the ministers were assembled in council. Napoleon joined them with greater cheerfulness than he had felt since the fatal day. The question of the Dictatorship was again discussed. Lucien vehemently urged it as the only means of averting from his brother the disgrace which his enemies were preparing, and the only means of saving the country. This was opposed by Fouché on the ground which has just been stated, that the loyal and patriotic sentiments of the chambers rendered such a measure perfectly unnecessary. It was likewise opposed by Carnot, as resembling too much the despotism by which Napoleon's former government had been characterized, but he added, that having professed himself the friend of Napoleon, he would zealously defend him to the last extremity, and would rather see his master assume the power of Dictator, and assert his constitutional privilege in dissolving the chambers, than

suffer him to be driven from his throne by external or internal violence. Regnault warmly supported the assumption of the Dictatorship. Decrès and Davoust were inclined to the same opinion. Cambacères sided with Fouché and Carnot. Napoleon said little. He attentively listened to the arguments of either party, and at length expressed his firm determination to throw himself on the loyalty of the chambers, and concert with them the measures which the present critical situation of France required.

While the council was deliberating on the form of the message to be delivered to the chambers, the deputies met. Napoleon had ordered a bulletin of their proceedings to be sent to him by a confidential agent every quarter of an hour. The first bulletin filled the court party with alarm. La Fayette had appeared in the tribune, and had moved that the sittings of the chambers should be declared permanent, and that every attempt to dissolve them should be resisted and punished as high treason. All question respecting the dictatorship was now at an end, unless the Emperor was resolved to add the horrors of civil war to the calamities which were now devastating the frontiers, and threatened to penetrate to the very heart of France.

The council was for a while lost in astonishment and fear, but the next intelligence recalled them to their recollection, and shewed them all

the danger which threatened Napoleon and his party. The ministers were ordered to appear in the chamber of deputies, and there answer to any questions which might be put to them. At first they hesitated whether they would obey this unexpected, and peremptory and unconstitutional, summons. Napoleon was indignant at the insult, and at first insisted that they should not appear. He even spoke of putting himself at the head of the few troops in Paris, on whose fidelity he was assured he might depend, and marching to the hall, to dissolve the chambers by force. No one but Lucien was found sufficiently bold, or faithful, or unprincipled, to second this rash proposal. His ministers warmly urged the impolicy of a step which must be fatal if not attended with complete success ; and entreated that he would at least delay any decisive measure until he had ascertained the real views of the chambers, and the relative strength of the different parties. He consented, and even professed to renounce every design against the existence and independence of the chambers, unless he should be compelled to defend his person or his throne against their treasonable projects.

A discussion now commenced on the form of the communication which Napoleon should make to the chambers of the events which had passed, and the nature of his present wishes and intentions, when a second and more peremptory sum-

mons arrived, requiring the immediate attendance of the ministers in the hall of the deputies. The council broke up in dismay, and nothing was determined, except that an extraordinary meeting should be summoned in the evening, consisting of the ministers, the presidents and secretaries of the two chambers, and the principal civil and military authorities.

It has just been stated that the deputies assembled while the council of the ministers continued their deliberations. La Fayette had obtained intelligence of the subject which engaged their attention, and which had been so often discussed in the private assemblies at the palace. He was sufficiently experienced in the manœuvres of revolutionary times, to know that not a moment was to be lost, and that all depended on striking the first blow. He therefore managed that the chamber should meet at an earlier hour than usual, and the President had no sooner taken the chair, than he presented himself at the tribune. He had hitherto taken no share in their discussions. He had mingled with none of the parties, but had kept himself perfectly aloof, as if he were conscious of disgrace in belonging to the government which Napoleon had instituted. His appearance therefore excited the greatest surprise and the most lively expectation, and a profound silence reigned through the whole assembly.

“Gentlemen,” said he, “for the first time during

many years you hear a voice, which the old friends of liberty may yet recognize. The country is in danger, and you alone can save it.

“ The sinister reports which have been circulated during the last two days, are unhappily confirmed. This is the moment to rally round the national colours,—the tri-coloured standard of 1789,—the standard of liberty, equality, and public order. It is you alone who can now protect the country from foreign attacks, and internal dissensions. It is you alone who can secure the independence and the honour of France.

“ Allow a veteran in the sacred cause of freedom, and a stranger to the spirit of faction to submit to you some resolutions, which the dangers of the present crisis demand. I am assured that you will feel the necessity of adopting them:—

“ Art. 1. The chamber declares that the independence of the nation is menaced,

“ II. The chamber declares its sittings permanent. All attempts to dissolve it, shall be considered high treason. Whosoever shall render himself culpable of such an attempt, shall be considered a traitor to his country and condemned as such.

“ III. The army of the line, and the national guards, who have fought, and still fight for the liberty, the independence, and the territory of France have merited well of the country.

“ IV. The Minister of the Interior is invited to

assemble the principal officers of the Parisian national guard, in order to consult on the means of providing it with arms, and of completing this corps of citizens, whose tried patriotism and zeal offer a sure guarantee for the liberty, prosperity, and tranquillity of the capital, and for the inviolability of the national representatives.

“ V. The Minister of War, of Foreign Affairs, of Police, and of the Interior, are invited to repair to the Hall of the Assembly.”

No opposition was made to these resolutions, so alarming and so bold. The court party was taken by surprise, and absolutely thunder-struck. The leading members were now with the Emperor, and the others had not the courage to face the impending storm.

After a short observation from M. Flaugergues, who expressed his wish “ that the minister ought to be summoned without delay, and required to communicate every particular of the defeat which the army had sustained, and the real designs of the Emperor,”—and a still bolder remark from another member, “ that in a few moments the chamber might be dissolved, and that they would have the regret of losing by their delay, an opportunity which might not be regained,” the propositions were all carried by acclamation, except the fourth. This was for the present suspended, as conveying an invidious distinction between the troops of the line, and the national

guards, and imputing to Napoleon an intention to avail himself of the assistance of the troops which they had no doubt existed in his mind, but of which he had not yet given any actual proof.

Although the fourth resolution was not adopted by the chamber, the national guard availed themselves of the hint. They immediately assembled at their respective rendezvous, and a picquet was sent from every arrondissement to do duty at the hall of the deputies, and to charge themselves with the protection of the national representation.

The resolutions of the deputies were transmitted to the chamber of peers, and there adopted with scarcely more discussion, and without amendment.

These steps decided the fate of Napoleon. All, except himself, predicted the speedy termination of his reign, but he was yet unconscious of danger. He saw in these measures only the expression of the fears which the deputies entertained lest he should dissolve them, and re-establish his former despotism, and he did not doubt, that when these apprehensions were removed, they would zealously co-operate with him in endeavouring to save their country.

The day passed over without any event of consequence. The chambers exacted from the ministers the most positive assurances that no designs were harboured against them: and the minister of war especially, was compelled repeatedly to

deny that the troops had received orders to surround and intimidate or dissolve the assembly. The different parties regarded each other with distrust. They were mustering their respective forces, and it was easy to foresee that a speedy explosion was inevitable.

The citizens of Paris anxiously awaited the result of the impending struggle. Groups without number assembled on the walks, on the quays, on the bridges, and on the boulevards. At the approach of the police they dispersed, and then formed again without ceasing. The passengers looked at each other distrustfully; they addressed each other with precaution; they answered with hesitation and ambiguity. No one dared to utter what he feared, what he hoped, what he thought, or what he knew. Fear and silence reigned in most of the groups, who were collected together by a troubled and irrepressible curiosity, and disunited by a terror still more alarming. At length their desire of information, and the interest which they felt in the passing events, unchained their tongues. Some scarcely dissembled the joy which they felt. Some ventured to speak of the abdication, the trial, the death of the Emperor. Others fondly anticipated the return of the Bourbons, and cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" were occasionally heard: but the majority still considered the interests of Napoleon and the people to be inse-

parably united, and cries of “ *Vive l’Empereur !* ” drowned every seditious shout. The *federés*, and the inhabitants of the suburbs were loudest in their vociferations. Many broils ensued, and some blood was shed ; but the mild, yet firm conduct of the national guard prevented much serious mischief.

The funds which had been gradually sinking since the departure of the Emperor, and which on the first news of the defeat of Waterloo had been as low as fifty, began rapidly to rise, in proportion as it became evident that some attempt was in contemplation to remove Napoleon from the supreme power.

Two persons were this day tried for distributing seditious libels, and though the facts were proved by the clearest evidence were acquitted. Their advocate in the course of his defence made use of many expressions against the character and government of Napoleon, the least offensive of which would, in other times, have doomed him to a dungeon for life.

At night the Imperial committee assembled. This committee was composed of the ministers holding departments ; the ministers of state ; the president and four members of the chamber of peers ; the president and four vice-presidents of the representatives ; the heads of the civil and military authorities of Paris, and some state counsellors,

peers, representatives, and citizens, who were invited by the Emperor. The friends of Napoleon were the more numerous party.

The scenes which had been witnessed in the streets were here repeated as the members gradually assembled and awaited the coming of the Emperor. Some were meditative and silent;—others endeavoured in the most artful way to sound the intentions of their associates, and all most carefully disguised their thoughts and intentions.

A secretary announced the approach of the Emperor, who was preceded by his three brothers. All the assembly rose. He saluted them respectfully, but with some embarrassment. They then reseated themselves without waiting for any previous command, and a profound silence succeeded.

The Emperor attempted to speak. He was pale and agitated. His hand which he extended on the table was almost convulsed. The distress under which he laboured, evidently affected his audience, and produced the most favourable impressions, and many abandoned the offensive and almost insulting propositions which they had intended to make.

He spoke at first in a low and almost unintelligible tone. His sentences were imperfect and disjointed; but by degrees he became calm and master of himself. He frankly acknowledged the full extent of the disasters which the army had

experienced. He spoke of the courage and devotion of his troops with the warmest admiration. He candidly acknowledged the faults which he had committed in the opening of the campaign, and on the bloody day of Waterloo. He praised in the highest terms the unconquerable bravery of the British, and the unrivalled talents of their commander. He confessed that he had now no resource but in the affection, fidelity, and zeal of his people ; and entreated the advice of the committee as to the measures which it was necessary to adopt.

A murmur of approbation ran through the whole assembly, and not a few of his auditors who had come to the meeting with hostile feelings, became converts to his cause.

Count Regnault * opened the debate.

* Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely was an advocate before the revolution, and practised at the town from which he has taken his title. He was deputy to the states-general, and, though he took no leading part in the dissensions of that assembly, established his character for moderation and liberality. Under the reign of Robespierre he shared in the persecution which awaited every rational and true patriot. He was proscribed, and with difficulty escaped. He appeared no more on the political theatre until the consulate of Buonaparte, whose cause he zealously espoused. For this he was made counsellor of state, and president of the council.

He faithfully adhered to the fortunes of his master during all their vicissitudes, but never displayed any mean servility, or was concerned in any of the atrocities which disgraced the reign of

“The glory of France,” said he, “is in the army. Her honour depends on the restoration of our losses. Her liberty and independence are connected with the strength of her defenders. The safety of the country consists in their number, their discipline, and their exploits. A great reverse is to great souls but a salutary warning. Let us turn to the triumph of principles, that misfortune which at first sight may appear to compromise them. If victory has ceased to crown our standards, are there not other palms besides those which are sprinkled with blood. The olive of peace may still flourish upon our menaced frontiers; but that it may bear permanent fruit it must be planted by heroic hands. Already does the army rally; but our astonished eagle afflicted at the absence of its defenders, demands that we should fill up those glorious vacancies, which unheard-of sacrifices have made in their ranks. Will you refuse to recruit with heroes this heroic army? By enlarging its battalions, or, at least, by filling them up with devoted men, you will second the public enthusiasm—you will crown the wishes of the nation. Far, however, be from us the desire of revenge. The only conquest for which we

Napoleon. He was supposed to be the best scholar in France, and had acquired the happy art of securing the warm affection of his friends and the esteem of the most virulent of his political enemies.

fight is that of peace ; but in order that we may not be compelled to beg it on our knees, it is necessary that the number of our soldiers should correspond with their courage. A nation defeated, but which never will be utterly vanquished, should not present the reed of peace, but when leaning upon the massive club of her combats. I conclude with moving, that the chambers make an appeal to French valour, whilst the Emperor is treating of peace in the most steady and dignified manner."

La Fayette next rose. Every eye was fixed upon him, and the most profound silence reigned through the assembly. Napoleon was agitated almost to suffocation, but he speedily recovered himself, and assumed the appearance of indifference and unconcern.

"In love for my country," said he, "and ardent wishes to save it from the dangers which threaten to overwhelm it, I will not yield to the last speaker. The sincerity of his patriotism I am not disposed to doubt; but it is with pain that I am compelled to say, that the measures which he proposes, would hasten and aggravate the calamities that we all deprecate. The fine army with which our northern frontiers were covered is no more. It can oppose no effectual resistance to the hordes of foreigners, who have already passed our borders, and whose course is marked with devastation and blood. It is under the walls of Paris alone that our scattered troops will be able

to unite, and dispute with the enemy the possession of the capital of the empire.

Of the issue of the contest I should not be doubtful. At the voice of their government, and to defend the liberty, the integrity, and the independence of his country, every Frenchman would fly to arms, and the invaders would be chased from our soil with sad discomfiture. But though the triumph would be certain, the contest would be long and dreadful. Our fruitful fields would be laid waste, and our rivers run with blood. Is it necessary to expose our country to these calamities? Is it necessary to fill it with widows and orphans? Are there no means by which peace may be obtained without compromising our honour?

The last speaker has proposed that pacific overtures should be made to the Allies; that while an appeal is made to French valour, the Emperor should treat for peace in the most dignified manner. But with what prospect of success will he, or can he treat? Have not our enemies pledged themselves to a line of conduct which, adopted when the issue of the contest was uncertain, and while all France appeared to have rallied round the Emperor of their choice, will not be readily abandoned now that victory has crowned their efforts?

Mingled sentiments of affection and respect prevent me from being more explicit. There is but

one measure which can save the country, and if the ministers of the Emperor will not advise him to adopt it, his great soul will reveal it to him."

This speech excited many murmurs from the court party, and much applause from others. At the close of it the Emperor cast his eyes down, and immediately raised them again with a smile of disdain.

The Duke of Bassano (Maret)* could not contain his indignation. He proposed, with little preface, that all who for twelve years had made parts of different factions, whose common object

* Maret was the son of an apothecary at Dijon, and at the beginning of the revolution came to Paris without money, friends, or credit. I cannot give a better account of him than by a translation from the very interesting publication of M. Pradt, the Archbishop of Mechlin, entitled "*Histoire de l'Ambassade en Pologne.*" The curious nature of the extract, will be admitted as an apology for its length.

"Who then is this Duke of Bassano, who unfortunately for France has been connected with every epoch of her revolution, from the short-hand writer's box in the assembly, where he first became a politician, to the highest honours of the Ministry, and who embarrasses the world to resolve the problem of the intrinsic worth of an upstart journalist.

A mediocrity of talent combined with the most insatiable ambition,—a high opinion of himself exhibited in the minutest trifles,—a *Sybaritism* of vanity,—a Phylinthus with a heart of iron,—an apparent display of sensibility, without the actual possession of the smallest portion of it,—a sublime genius in a *coterie* or ball-room,—a pretension to universal talents, and universal

was the dethronement of Napoleon, should be placed under the surveillance of a more severe police. "Cause those chiefs to be punished," said he, "who from Paris, from La Vendée, from Lisle,

knowledge,—a vulgar imitation of his master,—the refinement of servility,—the morality and the eloquence of the *Moniteur*,—such is the Duke of Bassano, one of the scourges of the age.

These imputations are severe. They require proofs; I feel that justice demands it. When we attempt to dethrone a man from the reputation to which he has attained,—when we rob him of the treasure of his good name, we ought to be armed at all points; but when the influence of a man is found to be connected with the public calamities of his time, when his fortune and his fame are nourished by the disasters of the human race,—when blinded by pride, a little puppet atlas, attempts to charge himself with a part of the burden of the world, and when his vanity persuades him that he can sport himself with that weight, too heavy for ordinary powers,—a weight in reality not so oppressive as his person is sacred,—when he sports with the interests of so many men, so many nations, and sacrifices them to his caprice or his folly, can we be too severe? Is it not our right, and our duty, to invoke, and to cause to speak, with a voice of thunder, those three sisters who ought never to be separated, justice, morality, and history. Is it not our duty to tear off the mask from a juggler, who scatters around innumerable calamities, with an impudent and undisturbed countenance, and who often obtains the homage, even of his victims. These Tartufes of sensibility,—these cold-hearted ambitious men, these slaves of every master who will sufficiently bribe them,—who pursue as their only object, the increase of their fortune, or the gratification of their passions,—who trample without remorse on their equals, and regard their superiors as idols; these men have been too much spared,—let us render to every one that which is his due, and let the Duke of Bassano, who has so often had recourse to

from Toulouse, from Marseilles, and from Bourdeaux, feed the hopes of the Court of Ghent, and the animosity of Europe which they have determined to unite in one coalition. Exclude their

flattery to deceive others and who has succeeded only in deceiving himself, know that his character has been truly appreciated.

The Duke of Bassano made his debut in 1790, in the box of a Journalist in the Constituent assembly. His only support was derived from reporting the debates in the *Moniteur*. He at length ingratiated himself with the proprietor of the paper, and acquired an inferior share in it. This introduced him to the society of some of the leading members. His flatteries and his servility soon gained him the patronage of Roland, Brisot, and Lebrun, and he accompanied M. Chavelin in his Embassy to London, at the period of the death of Lewis XVI, and was on the point of supplanting his superior, when they were all driven from England. He was sent back on a second mission, but not allowed to proceed further than Canterbury.

The diplomacy of the Convention had nothing in it to alarm him, or to shake the robust fibres which form the tissue of his heart. He was soon afterwards despatched on a mission to Naples, but the Austrians disconcerted his schemes, by arresting him, and Semonville, the Ambassador to Constantinople, and some other incendiary at the entrance of the Valteline. Restored to France, when the consulate was established, by being exchanged for the daughter of Lewis XVI, he succeeded M. de Lagarde as Secretary to the Council of Government. He held that situation until he was appointed Minister of Foreign affairs in the room of M. de Champagny. This office had long been the object of his ambition. The labours of the Cabinet, always a little obscure in their nature, presented a scene too limited, a theatre too confined for the exertion of his superior talents. He

accomplices of greatest influence from public functions. Watch over the inferior agents with more strictness, and you will have produced the double effect, of disconcerting the foreign enemy,

would be minister of France, and of Europe, for in the present situation of politics, the French minister of Foreign affairs was nothing less.

The Duke of Bassano thought, that a brilliant appearance, a politeness too common to be flattering to him to whom it was addressed, and too general to be capable of being applied to any particular person, formed the grand essential of a minister, and would conceal every defect.

His eloquence is dull, embarrassed, never precise, never luminous, and always tedious. His principles change with the circumstances of every case, or are comprised in present convenience, force, and the long catalogue of sophisms of which French diplomacy has been composed during twenty-five years. His days are spent in hunting, in attendance at the palace, in repasts prolonged to excess, and in lounging with every one who will give him his company. At length the hour of work arrives, and that is generally the period when nature requires repose. The hour of midnight sounds. He then thinks of the duties of his office.—He shut himself up in his cabinet.—He calls his clerks.—He gives them no respite. Woe to him whom sleep then overpowers. Towards five o'clock in the morning the minister retires to repose, and leaves to his unfortunate dependents the labour of reducing to some luminous orders, the sublime conceptions of which they had been made the depositaries. Demosthenes said that his works smelled of oil. Those of the Duke of Bassano had no better odour, and I can affirm that I have never received a despatch from him which could bear the light of day.

Flattery is the surest way to gain the favour of the Duke of

and of strengthening the government and its friends. Had this measure been adopted, a person who now hears me, and who well understands me, would not smile at the misfortunes of the

Bassano. With him every thing must be flattered, every thing admired, even the little dog of the Duchess. A person well acquainted with the foibles of the minister has said, that that dog has made many Senators and many Prefects. He possesses a love of neatness, which descends to the veriest trifles. It is amusing to hear him recount all the little niceties of his domestic economy,—to dwell with energy on the minutiae of every part of his establishment, and even to see with care and precision, he trimmed the rose-bushes in his garden.

The Duke of Bassano is celebrated for the steadiness of his friendships. This is with him a point of religion; but I have detected him in one flagrant instance of impiety towards this divinity.

Towards the latter end of June M. d'André, formerly well known as president of the constituent assembly, arrived at Warsaw. He had been sent for from Vienna by the Duke of Bassano, where he resided. The reason of his journey he knew not, neither did I. The Duke told him to stay near me, and to wait for orders. M. d'André was the author of all the Duke's good-fortune by causing a box to be fitted up for him and his journal in the body of the assembly.

He shewed me a letter from the Duke which was to serve as his credentials with me. It was full of expressions of affection, and professions of eagerness to see him. It stated that a wish to see him again and to be of service to him was nearest the heart of the Duke. I was persuaded that M. d'André was an intimate friend of the Duke, and that his fortune was secure. I had only known M. d'André by seeing him in the assembly, and we were then attached to different parties. I have since regretted that I

country, and Wellington would not be marching on Paris."

A burst of disapprobation which even the presence of the Emperor could not check, followed

knew him so late, for I found him, in every respect, one of the most worthy men with whom I was ever acquainted.

Some weeks passed over without any intelligence from the Duke. Several letters were written to him, but they remained unanswered. I endeavoured to calm the impatience of M. d'André, who sometimes determined to set out for Wilna, and at others to return to Vienna. In fine, the whole campaign passed away without the Duke communicating any message, or writing a single line. On the retreat from Moscow the Duke arrived at Warsaw, and dined with me four days in company with M. d'André, without addressing one word to him, or giving any reply to his demand of an audience; and when indignant at this forgetfulness not only of the duties of friendship, but even of common politeness, I endeavoured to impress him with the necessity of not departing without taking some notice of a friend so dear, he acquiesced in the propriety of my observation, and taking him aside, addressed to him a few words at one of the windows, coolly proposing to pay the travelling expenses (which besides were most strictly calculated) of a man whom he had brought more than two hundred leagues, who had quitted every employment, at his request, and whom he was now sending back when the thermometer was twenty-five degrees below the freezing point. Thus ended the drama of his friendship for M. d'André. Every spectator was overwhelmed with mingled astonishment and indignation.

I am willing to allow that the Duke of Bassano possesses all that sensibility which his friends attribute to him, and which they extol so highly; but let them explain to me in what that sensibility consists, which commands a secretary to write and re-

this insinuation ; the Duke of Bassano attempted to proceed, and to explain what he had said, but the indignation of the assembly was extreme. Hisses and the most violent expressions of censure drowned the voice of the speaker.

proach me because I testified some regret at the burning of Moscow, which inculcates the horrible principle that I ought to regard the calamity with enthusiastic feelings, and use it as the means of exciting the enthusiasm of others—enthusiasm excited by a calamity, a parallel to which has not afflicted the human race since the burning of Troy ! Let them explain to me in what his sensibility could consist, who, when he was informed that thirty leagues of country were laid waste, and every human habitation reduced to ashes, on the entrance of the French army into Lithuania, coolly replied, “ This is nothing, they have yet scarcely passed the frontiers.”—Who, while French and Russians, friends and enemies, were perishing by thousands, and by every horrible kind of death, enjoyed undisturbed the comedy of Wilna, for the company which acted at his command, and for his amusement, did not cease to play a single evening, during the whole of that unfortunate campaign,—and who, to fulfil the orders of his master, will inflict on his fellow-creatures a thousand indignities, and overwhelm them with every species of misfortune, and to whom the misery of nations is nothing, and servility and blind obedience to his master, the highest object of his ambition.

The only act of the Duke of Bassano was to read the secret thoughts and wishes of the Emperor. It was curious to see with what an air he contemplated and listened to him. It seemed as if he was gazing on the countenance of a divinity. He comprehended, he admired every thing. I never saw a more perfect devotee. The repression, the annihilation of his own powers of thought were carried to a state of absolute perfection. He saw and felt only as the Emperor pointed the way. He wrote to me

The deliberation continued during several hours. M. Lanjuinais and Constant in no equivocal terms, supported the sentiments of La Fayette. Another member spoke of the possibility, or even the ne-

on the 6th of July, "The despatch which you sent me, charmed me, but the Emperor said that it was bad, and he is right."

As to his talents, we may judge of them not only from the *Moniteur*, of which he was one of the principal editors, but from the acts which have emanated from him in the course of his ministry. Among other articles, I entreat the reader to peruse his report on the declaration of war against Prussia in 1813. Because the Emperor was about to make war against Russia, it was necessary that Prussia should be erased from the list of nations. This is a fair specimen of the logic of the Duke of Bassano.

He carried to perfection that system of juggling and deception by which the political *charlatans* who have governed during so many years have constantly endeavoured to pervert facts, to mutilate and to torture them, to extract poison from them. A system invented in an age of liberty and illumination, to assist one man in precipitating millions of men to ruin and death, by means of ignorance and darkness. "My throne is founded on the Gazettes!" said the Emperor.

These disastrous and destructive deceptions arrived at their height at Wilna. When the army was perishing on the snows of Russia, and its miserable remains were endeavouring to escape from the horrors which pursued them, the Duke of Bassano was giving fêtes, and proclaiming victories. Thus all suspicion of the truth was lulled asleep. The corps diplomatique was completely deceived, and at the close of one of his festivals, he gave them but six hours' notice to prepare for their departure. They travelled when the thermometer was twenty-five degrees below the freezing point, and the American minister, Barlow, died eight days afterwards of an inflammation of the lungs.

cessity of a change in the form of government, "when," said he, "the question is how to defend the independence of the nation, the liberties of the nation should not be mere chimeras, and her rights words without meaning."

The duke boasted to me of this political manœuvre. He esteemed it the master-piece of diplomatic art. But he heard not the execrations which were lavished on him by those whom he had deceived and betrayed.

The Duke of Bassano prided himself in imitating Napoleon in every thing. Because the Emperor was a warrior, the Duke of Bassano fancied himself a general. Because the Emperor had charged him with the correspondence of the army in Poland while he proceeded to Moscow, he began to lecture the generals, and to direct their operations. I have often heard the military say that his audiences and military projects were perfectly ridiculous. He had embroiled and perplexed every thing.

Because the Emperor was concise and abrupt, the Duke of Bassano thought it a mark of genius to speak with the utmost positiveness on every subject. I will give one example. As he passed through Warsaw he spoke to me of the remounting some of the regiments which he had ordered in Moldavia. I answered, that the horses, being brought from a great distance, and not being broken in, could not be serviceable before the month of May. He answered with briskness, 'Sir! we take a horse, we place a man on its back, and immediately we have a body of cavalry.'

Because Napoleon was always accustomed to attend to his own wants before those of any other person, Maret thought that every one ought to sacrifice his dearest interests to him.

Public opinion has charged him with the most violent inclination for every proceeding which could foster the ambition of his master at the expense of every European state. He is reproached

The republican tendency of this speech was favourably received by part of the assembly, and severely censured by others. The Emperor could not refrain from many sneers of contempt during the progress of the harangue, but fearing the turn which the debate was now taking, and dreading lest some resolution might be proposed which would be fatal to his power, he beckoned to Carnot and Lucien, and conversing with them a few minutes, in a low voice and with much warmth, the former addressed the assembly earnestly deprecating violent measures, and endeavouring to conciliate all parties. He concluded by moving that the chambers should be invited to treat with the allied sovereigns, through an embassy of their own choosing, and that the ministers should propose a law for the raising of men and money.

The impossibility of this measure being at-

with having declared against the peace which Napoleon might have obtained at Dresden, and which would have left France yet flourishing, notwithstanding the dreadful reverses of the Russian campaign. He is likewise reproached with obstinately persisting in the same hostile disposition after the battle of Leipsic, and during the negotiations at Chatillon: and to crown these serious accusations, he is said to have borne a considerable part in the return of Napoleon, and an irrepressible zeal to maintain at the head of the French government, who would be as fatal to her, as useful to himself. During the short session of the chambers, he distinguished himself for his zeal in defence of Napoleon I and Napoleon II, as if one of them had not been enough."

tended with success was apparent to every one. When they had declared that they would never treat with Napoleon or his family, was it to be supposed that the Allies would be deluded by a mere quibble, and treat with any deputation from the chambers, while he still held the reins of power? They had likewise solemnly declared that they would not lay down their arms until Napoleon was rendered incapable of disturbing the repose of Europe. Was this purpose effected while he retained the Imperial title, while he had the resources of France at his command, and not even the disastrous day of Waterloo had weakened the stability of his throne.

By adopting, however, this measure the object of both parties was answered. They equally wished to gain time to strike some decisive blow, for which neither was yet fully prepared. The assembly broke up. No one appeared satisfied, and it was easy to see that some great event was at hand.

Before they separated, one of the members who had taken no part in the debate exclaimed, with a voice purposely meant to reach the Emperor's ear, "M. de la Fayette has struck at the root of the evil. I admire Napoleon; but in order that all France and that posterity may think as I do, one great act is still wanting. Is there no one so much a friend to our happiness and glory as to point out to him how he may still add to it?"

Scattered parties of the fugitives began now to arrive from the north, and though shame and despair lowered on their countenances, they still vociferated, with unabated enthusiasm, their favourite shout of "The Emperor for ever!" The inhabitants of the suburbs began to be agitated. Many designs against the independence of the chambers were attributed to them. It was well known that deputations had been sent to the palace of Elysée, demanding arms, and they were ready to assemble at the command of the Emperor, and repeat the dreadful scenes which had disgraced the former periods of the revolution.

The night was spent in active preparation by the enemies of Napoleon and the true friends of France. It was necessary to take some decisive step ere more troops arrived, or the banditti of the suburbs had been enabled or required to arrange themselves in terrible and irresistible array. The national guard was already embodied. It had unequivocally declared its determination to defend the representatives of the nation, and if the opposition did not assume too formidable a shape, its patriotism might be relied on. Napoleon was already in a situation to offer much resistance; and a few days, or even a few hours, he would be enabled to collect a force which would render all their efforts fruitless.

The constitutional monarchists, the Bourbon

royalists, and the federalist republicans, all united in determining to effect the abdication of Napoleon. The eyes of the people were suddenly and almost magically opened, and it is not too much to say, that all the talents, virtue, and patriotism of the chambers, and the respectable part of the population of Paris, entertained the same wish and formed the same resolution.

The deputies met early on the following morning. The opening of the debate was unusually tumultuous, and the president was obliged repeatedly to declare that he must adjourn the assembly, if order were not observed. A committee had been appointed on the preceding day to concert with the ministers the measures of public safety. Two hours passed, and they did not appear with their report. In truth, while the Emperor refused to adopt the only plan by which the country could with certainty be saved, and any attempt of the chambers to compel him to abdicate, would probably have produced open defiance, and inevitably led to the most dreadful consequences, it was difficult or impossible to advise any measures which were likely to be effectual.

The impatience of the chamber increased every moment. One member declared that the deputies were responsible to the country for the time which they were losing: another, without apology or preface, proposed that the chamber

should proceed at once to adopt those decisive measures which the dangers of the country rendered indispensable. The agitation and tumult could no longer be restrained, and some violent proceeding would have taken place, had not the reporter of the committee suddenly appeared.

It was General Grenier *, afterwards one of the members of the provisional government. He stated, that after a deliberation of five hours, the committee had resolved, " that the safety of the country required that the Emperor should consent to the nomination by the two chambers of a commission, charged to negotiate directly with the coalesced powers, stipulating only that they should respect the national independence, the territorial

* Grenier, before the revolution, was a private soldier ; but possessing more talent than is usually found in his station, and being of a bold and enthusiastic character, and a violent jacobin, he distinguished himself at the revolutionary meetings and clubs which were established in every regiment, and every town. This recommended him to the notice of many of the officers who took an active part in the political events of the time. Grenier was taken from the ranks, and rapidly passed through every intermediate degree until, in 1795, he was made a general.

Though possessing superior abilities as a private soldier, he never obtained much reputation as a general. He was usually employed in subordinate situations, but in them it is said that he exhibited much capacity, and amassed a considerable fortune. He was now regarded as a friend to moderate liberty, and though not possessed of extraordinary talents, yet inclined to serve his country, and not easily seduced from the path of duty.

integrity, and the right which belongs to every people, of adopting such constitutions as it may think proper ; and that, these negotiations should be supported by the prompt developement of the national force."

Murmurs of disapprobation were heard from every part of the hall. The reporter anticipated the objections which were ready to be made, and continued, "Gentlemen, this article appears to me insufficient. It does not fulfil the object which the chamber proposes to itself, because it may happen that your deputation will not be admitted. I would not therefore urge the adoption of this measure, had I not reason to believe that you will soon receive a message, in which the Emperor will declare his wish, that the effect of this should first be tried, and that should he then prove an invincible obstacle to the nation being admitted to treat for its independence, he will be ready to make whatever sacrifice may be demanded of him."

The murmurs, which before were sufficiently unequivocal, were now redoubled, and broke out into the most violent and universal exclamations of indignation. The majority of the assembly considered this proposal as an artful attempt of Napoleon to gain time, and to induce the chambers to adopt a plan of proceeding which he well knew must be unsuccessful, hoping that in the interim some opportunity would present itself of rushing upon them, and establishing his former

hated despotism on the ruins of their independence.

Napoleon undoubtedly wished to gain time, that he might bring himself to some resolution ; but no more favourable opportunity could present itself than he now possessed of dissolving the chambers. A considerable body of troops had that morning arrived from the south, with which he might have executed any purpose.

The real state of the case seems to have been, that Napoleon had not sufficient greatness of mind voluntarily to make the sacrifice which was required of him, and therefore wished to procrastinate as long as possible, hoping that some unexpected event, however improbable, might render that sacrifice unnecessary ; but either he had not sufficiently recovered from the panic of Waterloo to attempt the dissolution of the chambers, or he was sincerely resolved not to depart from the principles of that constitutional monarchy which he had so lately sworn to respect. The chambers however were justified by his former character, and the imprudent zeal of some of his friends, in the interpretation which they put on his present conduct, and the dangers of their country were too urgent to permit them to delay a moment, in removing the only obstacle to its safety.

After much tumult M. Duchesne presented himself in the tribune. "I do not believe," said he, "that the project proposed by the committee is capa-

ble of attaining the desired end. Our disasters are great. This cannot be denied ; it is sufficiently proved by the presence of the chief of our armies in the capital. If there are no bounds to the national energy, there are limits to its means. The chambers cannot offer negotiations to the Allied powers. The documents which have been communicated to us prove that they have constantly refused all the overtures which have been made to them, and they have declared that they will not treat with you as long as you shall have the Emperor at your head."

The president interrupted the speaker, to announce that he had just received an assurance that they would speedily receive the message to which the reporter of the committee had referred. This interruption, at the very moment when the orator was come to the very point at which they were so anxious to arrive, caused fresh dissatisfaction and tumult. "It is a concerted plan," exclaimed some, "to make the assembly lose time." "Some plot is concerting," cried others. "Proceed, proceed," vociferated the majority, "there is no middle course."

Duchesne continued, "It is necessary that we should be certain of finding in the developement of the national force, a defence sufficiently imposing to support our negotiations, and treat with success concerning our honour and independence. Can that force be developed ? Can it be developed

with sufficient rapidity? May not circumstances again lead victorious armies to the capital, then, and under their auspices, will re-appear that ancient family." (Never! never! cried many voices.) "I freely express my opinion. What may be the consequences of these events? We have only one certain means left, which is to engage the Emperor, in the name of the safety of the state, in the sacred name of a suffering country to declare his abdication."

The whole assembly suddenly rose, "Seconded! seconded!" repeated a hundred voices. The uproar was incessant, and the president's bell was unheard. At length, during some little pause, the president addressed them. "I cannot hope to arrive at any result if I do not repress the agitation of the assembly. The safety of the country depends on the determination of this day. I entreat the chamber to wait for the Emperor's message."

"And I also," exclaimed General Solignac. At the sound of his voice a dead silence instantly prevailed. No man stood higher in the estimation of every party than General Solignac. His courage, his inflexibility, and his patriotism were universally acknowledged: and the remembrance of the irreconcilable hatred with which he had been pursued by the Emperor, who during five years had eagerly availed himself of every opportunity to mortify and insult him, because he had refused to

be the servile instrument of his ambition, excited the greatest curiosity to hear what would be his sentiments, and what measures he would advise.

“And I also,” said the General, “I share the uneasiness of him who has preceded me at this tribune. Yes! we ought to consider the safety of the empire, and the maintenance of our liberal institutions, and while the government is disposed to present to you such measures as tend to this end, it appears to me important to preserve to the chamber the honour of not having proposed an object which ought to be the free concession of the monarch. I move that a deputation of five members shall be appointed to proceed to the Emperor, which deputation shall express to his Majesty the urgency of his decision. Their report will, I doubt not, satisfy at once the wish of the assembly, and that of the nation.”

This proposal produced universal satisfaction, and the president was about to put it to the vote when the General again appeared in the tribune, “I wish to propose an amendment to my motion. Several around me have intimated to me that we shall soon be informed of the determination taken by his Majesty; I consequently think it necessary that we should wait for one hour to receive the message which it appears is to be addressed to the chambers: I therefore move that we adjourn for that time. (Considerable disapprobation was here expressed.) Gentlemen!” continued the General,

“ we all wish to save the country : but can we not conciliate this unanimous sentiment with the laudable desire that the chamber should preserve the honour of the chief of the state, (Yes ! yes ! exclaimed nearly the whole assembly). If I requested that we should wait until this evening or to-morrow, some considerations might be opposed, but one hour.” “ Yes ! yes ! to the vote” was the general cry, and the chamber adjourned.

It is necessary now to return to Napoleon. On the breaking up of the council on the preceding evening, the ministers remained at the palace, and many of them urged in the most respectful but earnest terms, his voluntary abdication. They painted in glowing colours the impossibility of resisting the progress of the invaders, and the horrible devastation to which a protracted resistance would expose the country. They insisted on the avowed determination of the Allies never to treat with him, or to sheath the sword while he held the reins of power. They stated that they had served him with undeviating fidelity ;—that they had placed at his disposal all the resources of France, —and that their warmest wishes had followed him to the field ;—but that since fortune had decided against him, though their affection and respect were not diminished, they had a sacred duty to their country to discharge, and they were compelled no longer to conceal that he formed the only ob-

stacle to the salvation and happiness of France.— They described the glory which would attach to a sacrifice so great, so noble ; they spoke of the grateful emotions with which his name would be pronounced to the latest posterity ; and the inexpressible happiness which would crown his future days, when he witnessed or heard of all the blessings which his country would derive from his generous self-denial,—a happiness which the most prolonged or victorious reign could never bestow if founded on the tears and blood of France.

These arguments were urged in vain. The ruling passion of Napoleon was ambition : not that legitimate principle whose honourable aim is the approbation of the wise and good, but an insatiable and vicious craving after extended power. To regain the throne from which he had been driven, and to maintain himself there, he had dared much. He had obtained the prize at which his efforts were directed. Only a few days ago, the voice of the assembled nation had proclaimed him the monarch of their choice. To resign, in the first moment of fruition, the object in which all his desires were concentrated, was more than he could resolve to do.

The night was passed in discussion, and it was not until the chambers had actually assembled in the morning that the conditional promise was extorted from him, that if the negotiations of the chambers failed, he would make the sacrifice which was required,

He then retired to his cabinet, and awaited with the most anxious suspense the proceedings of the chambers. He wrote a thousand notes to his ministers, now retracting his conditional promise, then again confirming it; at one moment resolving to end the business by the dissolution of the chambers, then trembling at the hazard of the attempt. Every note was destroyed as soon as written, and the room was strewn with the fragments. Bulletins were brought to him from the two chambers every quarter of an hour, and his countenance brightened up, or became gloomy according to the nature of the news. Several of the ministers and counsellors of state entered the apartment, but he had not sufficient command of himself to listen to them, or to address them. He then began to employ himself in signing some of the numerous papers which covered the table. He particularly selected many promotions in the legion of honour to be conferred on those who had distinguished themselves at Waterloo, and he searched the whole heap for every pardon which he quickly signed without reading, as if he were determined that if his political career must now close, it should terminate by the pleasing exercise of mercy.

Prince Lucien was now announced. He alone with the faithful Bertrand, had strenuously opposed the abdication of his brother, and persisted in urging him to dissolve the chambers and crush his

enemies by one decisive blow. He had heard of the tumultuous opening of the sittings that morning, and was well assured that a motion would soon be made that Napoleon had forfeited the crown. He now came to make one last effort ere it was too late. As soon as Napoleon saw him, he guessed the purport of his visit, and turning suddenly pale, he seized him by the arm and hurried him into the garden, that their conference might be private and undisturbed. The early part of their conversation is unknown, but the concluding sentences were overheard. Napoleon was trembling and agitated. Lucien's voice betrayed the strongest emotion. Affection for his brother and anger at his obstinacy were evidently mingled.

Lucien.—Where then is your firmness?—Lay aside these irresolutions—you know what it will cost not to dare.”

Emperor.—“I have dared too much.”

Lucien.—“Too much and too little—dare this last time.”

Emperor.—“What! another eighteenth Brumaire?”

Lucien.—“By no means—a decree quite constitutional. The constitution gives you this right.”

Emperor.—“They do not love the constitution, they term it old blotted waste paper. And if they oppose the decree—”

Lucien.—“They are in such a case rebels, and, what is still better, they are more easily dispersed.”

Emperor.—“They have appealed to the national guard, which is not attached to me; it will come to their succour.”

Lucien.—“The national guard possesses no force but that of resistance; when called upon to act, the shopkeepers will think on their wives and their business.”

Emperor.—“An eighteenth Brumaire might, if it should fail, lead to a thirteenth Vendemaire.”

Lucien.—“You are deliberating when you should act; they are acting, not deliberating.”

Emperor.—“What can they do? They are mere talkers.”

Lucien.—“Opinion is on their side;—they will pronounce a forfeiture.”

Emperor.—“Forfeiture! They dare not.”

Lucien.—“They will dare any thing, if you dare nothing.”

This hint at the declaration of a forfeiture irritated Napoleon to madness. He had never conceived that they would have either the power to effect, or the boldness to attempt it. He believed that it was only necessary to persist in his refusal to abdicate, and when they saw that their object could not be accomplished, they would unite with him in endeavouring to repair the losses of the campaign. The blood which must be shed in the

contest, the calamities with which his country would be overwhelmed were esteemed of little account, if he might possibly succeed in retaining that sceptre without which life would be of no value to him. He scrupled to dissolve the chambers, yet he would reign at all hazards. He would retain the imperial state, though France and Europe were involved in one common ruin, but he would not violate the oath which he had so lately sworn to reign a constitutional monarch.

The hint, however, at the probable declaration that he had forfeited the crown roused his wildest passions, and he sent in great haste for Davoust the minister of war, and abruptly inquired what force he could lead against the assembly if he were compelled to proceed to extremities. Davoust hesitated. He either was convinced that the fortunes of Napoleon were declining, and that by any violent and unconstitutional measure he should involve himself in his ruin, or he was determined to attempt nothing against the liberties of his country. He at length replied that he was too well acquainted with the enlightened and patriotic views of Napoleon to believe that he seriously meditated any attack on the representatives of the nation, and that no force, which he or the world could muster, would be able permanently to triumph over the independence of France.

“I understand you,” replied the Emperor. “My

sun is set!" and he abruptly quitted the apartment.

Lucien returned to his carriage, and was heard to address a secretary, "What would you have? The smoke of the battle of St. Jean has turned his head: he is a lost man!"

Napoleon hastily retired to his cabinet, and secured the door. He there remained an hour, and no one dared to interrupt him. He was heard incessantly and rapidly pacing the room, and uttering the most violent exclamations. At length he rung for some coffee. It was served up to him by a child whom Napoleon had particularly distinguished, who was often commissioned to wait on him when his servants dared not expose themselves to his temporary insanity, and whose innocent countenance and interesting prattle had sometimes succeeded in lulling the troubled spirit of the Emperor to rest.

Napoleon was now sitting in a fixed posture, with his head leaning on his hands. He noticed not the entrance of the child, who stood some minutes before him afraid to disturb him. At length he approached nearer, and with more sensibility than his years indicated, thus addressed the Emperor:

"Eat some! Eat some, Sire! it will do you good!"

Napoleon gazed steadfastly upon him, but spoke not.

The child again presented the refreshment. A

tear started on the cheek of the Emperor, and he took the coffee.

“Are you not from Gonesse?” said he.

“No, Sire! I am of Pierre Fête.”

“Where your parents have a cottage and a few acres?”

“Yes, Sire!”

“Ah! they are happy.”

He now returned to the chamber of audience, where two of his secretaries were employed in opening some despatches. They presented him with a letter. The following was its substance:

“Nature had done much for you,—fortune still more. Born in an age of illumination and freedom; succeeding to all the power of the revolution, when experience, too-dearly bought, had warned us of all its fatal errors, you should have established that epoch which was always the object of our wishes, in which genius would employ revolutions for the purpose of infusing philosophy into the science of politics, and conducting the nation to happiness. That happiness consisted in the stability and dignity of a legitimate government, approved by the free choice of the people. It consisted in the liberty of the citizens,—liberty without licentiousness, and the enjoyment of rights honoured by the performance of duties. Behold the benefits which France expected from your judgment, your talents, and

your gratitude! What has she received? She has been called to support with her treasures and her blood an ambition always devouring and never satisfied. She has been presented with the phantom of glory instead of the substantial blessings of liberty; and after unheard-of sacrifices, now finds herself exposed to the rage of embattled Europe, and trembling on the verge of destruction.

“The chastisement of a hero (for if Attila, Gengis, and Tamerlane were heroes, you are one also) always consists in his fall. Yours is resolved upon; and that history may find it legal, as well as your contemporaries may think it legitimate, it is the public authority which is about to pronounce it. Your accomplices cannot exclaim that it is the work of Calmuck bayonets. You may, however, anticipate it. Reserve to yourself the honour of descending from a throne, that you may not be torn from it. This is the advice of an honest enemy, who often admired, but who never feared you; and who, at the price of his blood, would have wished to have revered in you the saviour of the world, of which you have been the scourge. That enemy cannot leave him whom his own genius and the nation will have made a sovereign, without pronouncing that word which a friend (provided he has one remaining) should not withhold, *Abdicate*.

PHILADELPHIN*.”

* This letter has been attributed to M. Regnault de Watier, author of *Cinq Mois de l'Histoire de France*.

“Abdicate ! I abdicate !” exclaimed the Emperor, crushing the letter between his hands ; “What think you of it ?” said he to two of his counsellors of state who then entered the apartment. These were M. Boulay and Count Regnault. The former was silent.

“I understand you,” said Napoleon, turning pale, “you are of the same opinion as the anonymous writer.”

Boulay was silent.

“And you, Count Regnault, what is your advice ?”

“Sire ! I have sworn fidelity to you ! I have kept my oath ; and I would now die at the foot of your throne in defending you from insult. But I have duties to my country to perform, and they imperiously require me to declare to your Majesty, that you can no longer defend the independence and rights of the nation.”

Here General Solignac was announced. As soon as the meeting of the deputies was suspended for an hour, he hastened to the palace to endeavour to save the honour of that chief whom he still respected, though he had been insulted and disgraced by him. “Solignac !” exclaimed the Emperor, with terror and amazement ; “I have not spoken to him for five years. What can he want of me ?”

The general was introduced, and the ministers and secretaries left the apartment. With much

feeling the general explained the purport of his mission. He stated the disposition of the chambers, and the method by which he had succeeded in averting for one short hour the fatal decision, and he entreated the Emperor to prevent the disgrace of forfeiture, by a speedy abdication.

The word forfeiture again excited a storm of ungovernable passion in the breast of Napoleon. He was absolutely beside himself. He lavished every species of abuse on the chambers and on the general. But Solignac would not be diverted from his purpose. He was determined to take no offence whatever the Emperor might say. He therefore suffered the tempest to pass, and returned again to the charge. He spoke of the glory of the Emperor; that by a voluntary abdication it might be preserved and heightened, but that a decree of forfeiture would for ever tarnish its lustre. He appealed to the feelings of Napoleon as a brother and a father. By sacrificing his own greatness to effect the salvation of his country, he secured the gratitude of France, and that could not be more naturally and pleasingly displayed than in the honours which would surround his family; and on the other hand Solignac reminded him, that all connected with him must share in his disgrace, and be involved in his ruin. All these arguments were urged in vain. Napoleon was resolved to brave his fate.

The general, as his last resource, proposed

a measure which he would fain have otherwise avoided, that Napoleon should abdicate in favour of his son. He would not then have exerted himself to no purpose in reclaiming the throne which he had before abdicated in favour of the Bourbons. Napoleon would yet live and reign in the person of his son ; or if he were at first excluded from all share in the government, yet his brothers would be the most natural and the most likely guardians of the infant prince, and by degrees the affection and gratitude of the son, might smooth the return of the father, if not to the imperial dignity, yet to public life, and though not the ostensible, yet he might become the actual ruler of France.

These ideas were either stated by Solignac, or rapidly presented themselves to the mind of Napoleon, and beginning now to perceive that his situation was desperate, and the success of resistance more than doubtful, he consented to abdicate in favour of his son. The general left him no opportunity to retreat. A secretary was summoned, and the following declaration immediately drawn up.

“ Frenchmen ! In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer

myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power. My political life is terminated and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II, Emperor of the French.

The present members will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son, induces me to invite the chambers to form the regency by a law without delay.

Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON."

Solignac hastened to the assembly with this important paper. It was received with every mark of respect. They who had been most eager in their cries for his abdication or forfeiture were the foremost in expressing their gratitude for the sacrifice which Buonaparte had made. La Fayette proposed that his person and interests should be placed under the protection of the national honour, and the resolution was carried by acclamation. Regnault, who had already proved his love to his country by the advice which he had lately given Buonaparte, was eager to shew that no change of circumstances could diminish his affection for his former sovereign.—

"Gentlemen," said he, "I am no longer a minister, I am a citizen; I am a representative of

the people, and I have a right to claim this title, for I have proved myself such even in the cabinet of the Prince, towards whom you have still a duty to perform ; and here I am certain that no one will disavow the sentiments which I am about to express.

You have had at your head a man whom you have proclaimed great. This man posterity will judge. He was invested by the people with sovereign power. He has laid it aside without reserve, without personal consideration. The chamber should become the interpreter of the sentiments which are due to him, and which the nation will preserve towards him. I propose that the president and his bureau shall proceed to Napoleon to express to him, in the name of the nation, the gratitude and respect with which it accepts the noble sacrifice which he has made for the independence and happiness of the French people."

The motion was unanimously carried, and the president Lanjuinais, attended by the vice-presidents and secretaries, proceeded to the palace. Buonaparte received them surrounded by all his former ministers, by all the grand officers of his household, and by a strong body of his guard. At no former audience had he exhibited so much imperial state. It was an excusable vanity which made him wish once more to appear as a sovereign before he retired for ever into the private walks of life. Buonaparte was firm and collected. He was pale and

exhausted from the effect of previous agitation, but was now serene and even cheerful.

Lanjuinais approached with more than usual respect. His countenance was agitated and his voice trembled. He said that he was commissioned to express the deep sense of gratitude which the deputies unanimously felt for his generous compliance with their wishes, and the imperious demand of circumstances. When his throne was connected with the glory and the happiness of France, or while it could be supported without the hazard of the utter destruction of their native land, they had rallied round him, and would have defended him with their lives. But the reverses of Waterloo had again exposed their beloved country to the invasion of a million of armed foreigners, who had sworn never to make peace with Napoleon, but who had otherwise solemnly promised to respect the independence of the French, and to acknowledge the prince of their choice. Napoleon's resignation of the imperial power was the only expedient which could disarm the fury of the enemy, who, when the object against whom alone they professed to set themselves in array had ceased politically to exist, could no longer consistently carry on the war, and in proportion as the sacrifice which he had made was important to France, their gratitude to him increased. The termination of his political life constituted the most glorious period of his whole

career. No longer, by his own generous abdication, their sovereign, they loved and honoured him as the first and most illustrious of their citizens. His safety and his dearest interests would be the object of their most tender solicitude, and be ever considered as the most sacred deposit committed to their care.

Buonaparte replied, "I thank you for the sentiments you express. I recommend the chambers to reinforce the armies and to place them in the best state of defence. Those who wish for peace, ought to prepare for war. Do not expose this great nation to the mercy of the foreigner, lest you be disappointed in your hopes. In whatever situation I may be placed, I shall be happy if France be free and independent. In transferring the right which France has given me to my son, I make this great sacrifice only for the welfare of the nation, and the interest of my son, whom I therefore proclaim emperor."

The president observed that the assembly had not deliberated on this point, and had charged him with no commission.

"I told you so," said Buonaparte aside to Lucien, "I did not think that they could or would do it." "Tell the assembly," he continued, turning to the president, "that I recommend to them my son: that I abdicate in favour of my son."

Thus ended the political life of Napoleon. That its termination was as glorious as the assembly

seemed willing to consider it, the author is not prepared to assert, nor does he feel disposed to assent to glowing eulogiums which they pronounced on his conduct. The obstinacy with which he resisted the earnest and repeated entreaties of every friend, excepting Lucien—an obstinacy which could not be conquered, until it was thundered in his ears that he must either voluntarily abdicate or be forcibly dethroned, proves that it was an extorted sacrifice; that the victim was dragged to the altar, and struggled to escape the blow.

Something, however, may be said as an apology for considerable reluctance to resign all his honours so lately regained. He was persuaded that the measure originated with, and was warmly supported by those who were more influenced by hostility against himself, than love for their country. He was convinced that his abdication would not have the effect which many sanguine patriots imagined; and that the war was directed more against the military spirit, and the national integrity of France, than against himself. He believed that the intelligence that he no longer reigned over the French, would not delay the march of the hostile leaders a single hour, while his soldiers, dispirited at the loss and disgrace of their chief, would oppose but a slight resistance to the progress of the invader. He knew not what might be attempted against his liberty or even his life, when he had resigned the power of

defending himself. He had no guarantee that he might not fall a victim to the jealousy of the factions, or be delivered into the hands of the foreign enemy from whom he had no mercy to expect.

These considerations pressed upon his mind, and sufficiently account for the obstinacy which he displayed. The last of them had perhaps the greatest weight; for when it was proposed that he should abdicate in favour of his son, and under such a government, he had a moral assurance that he should be secure from insult or destruction, he immediately yielded.

To these considerations might be added his natural ambition, his sense of sustaining some injustice, his wish to defend himself to the last extremity when the whole world had conspired to hunt him down, and especially the conviction that his situation was not quite desperate. The army was at his disposal. The Federates of the suburbs were ready to rise at a word. The Assemblies might be easily dispersed. The National guard could yield no effectual resistance, or would probably become inactive spectators of the transaction: and though he must ultimately be crushed by the overwhelming force of his foreign adversaries, aided by the bands of Frenchmen whom his violence would have driven to arms, yet he might have carried on a partisan war for several years; he might have long maintained

himself in the very capital: there he might have extorted conditions favourable to his personal security, and probably leaving him in possession of considerable power; or, ere he could be completely reduced, a thousand circumstances might dissolve the confederacy against him,—a confederacy formed of many heterogeneous and discordant materials. No doubt existed in the mind of any well-informed persons, that the government of Napoleon was far more agreeable to the majority of the French, than the return of the dreaded administration of the Bourbons, and the moment the confederacy dissolved his triumph was secure. Though he had hitherto failed in accomplishing their disunion, yet if driven to extremities he might offer many tempting baits which would try the firmness of several of the most efficient of the coalesced powers.

If therefore the reader is not disposed to assent to the high-flown compliments which were now heaped upon him by many staunch constitution-
alists, and even by some sturdy republicans, and which their exultation and rapture at the removal of the principal obstacle to the safety of their nation, will both explain and excuse, yet every liberal mind will acknowledge that some praise is due to him. A sacrifice yielded in such circumstances, and half-extorted, will weigh little against the atrocities of which he had been guilty, and the evils which he had inflicted on mankind

during the long course of his fatal career, yet candour is willing to yield to it all the merit which it deserves.

It likewise cannot be denied that if his voluntary abdication deserves some praise, his steady refusal to violate the moderate principles with which he had commenced his reign is more to be applauded. Though he knew the hostile disposition of the chambers ;—though the constitution gave him the right to dissolve them ;—though it was evident that their dissolution alone could prevent some explosion dangerous or fatal to his power, and many of his friends, with Lucien at their head, urged him to dissolve them, he was undeviatingly firm in his refusal. “I have commenced a constitutional monarchy.—I have already dared too much,” was his constant reply.

This conduct surely merits approbation, and half inclines us to believe that he had learned moderation by the chastisement which he had received, and that his promises to respect the liberties of his country would not have been illusory. However this may be, his expulsion from the throne on which he had again established himself was a necessary sacrifice to the peace of Europe, and a just and salutary retribution for his former ambition and depravity.

CHAP. V.

Appointment of a Provisional Government;—Hesitation of the Peers to proclaim Napoleon II;—Indignation of Buonaparte;—Disposition of the Federates;—Indecision of Buonaparte;—Napoleon II acknowledged by the Deputies;—Examination of the Propriety of this;—Retreat of Buonaparte to Malmaison;—New Tumults at Paris;—Departure of Buonaparte for Rochfort;—Commissioners sent from the Chambers to treat for Peace.

The nation was left without a government by the abdication of Napoleon. The first care of the chambers was to appoint a committee who should provisionally assume the chief command. Three were appointed by the lower house, and two by the Peers. They consisted of Fouché, the Duke of Otranto, the Minister of Police,*

* Fouché is the son of a biscuit baker at Nantes. He received his first education at an Oratoire, and as soon as he arrived at the proper age, entered into holy orders. His distinguished talents soon raised him to the honours of a professorship. In the early period of the revolution, and in the public agitation which pre-

Caulincourt, the Duke of Vicenza, Minister for Foreign affairs, † Carnot Minister of the Interior,

ceded it, Fouché became an active partisan of the popular party, and imprudently mingling too much political discussion with his theological lectures, he was reprimanded, suspended, and imprisoned by his superiors. This persecution increased rather than repressed his zeal, and such was his influence over the minds of his pupils, that, early in 1788, most of them quitted Nantes and joined the revolutionary standard at Rennes.

When all monastic institutions were abolished by the national assembly, Fouché renounced his profession, and sealed his abjuration by marrying.

In 1789, the Jacobin Club was established at Nantes. Fouché was one of its earliest and most violent members. He was immediately elected secretary to the club, and soon afterwards president.

In 1792 he was elected a member of the national convention for his native town. He had no sooner taken his seat in that chamber than he allied himself to the most violent party, and recommended or supported all the bloody acts which disgraced that dreadful scene of the revolution. He made his debut by seconding the motion of Marat, who demanded the trial of the unfortunate Lewis and his Queen.

He was soon afterwards sent with the infamous Collot d'Herbois to Lyons which had resisted the conventional authority. The atrocities which he there committed were disgraceful to human nature, and not even the services which he has since rendered France and Europe can efface the foul and hideous blot.

The murderous Guillotine was too slow in its office. Hundreds of persons who were merely suspected of incivism, or whose property was desirable to the assassins, were huddled together in some open field, and swept down by the discharge of cannon. Sometimes the relatives of the condemned were compelled to dig the graves which were to contain the wretched re-

General Grenier, and M. Quinette‡. They opened their proceedings by the following proclamation.

mains of those whom they loved. The destined victims were then placed on the edge of the grave, and the musket or cannon of the demons in human shape precipitated them into the pit. The relatives of those who had been murdered were again dragged forward, and compelled to throw the earth over the mangled and still quivering bodies of their nearest and best friends. Three hundred were sometimes thus destroyed in one day.

A letter from Fouché and his worthy colleague would be deemed too ferocious for any but cannibals, were not its authenticity beyond dispute. The following is an extract from it. “We listen only to the voice of the nation, which demands that the blood of the citizens which the rebels have spilled should be avenged at once in the most summary and dreadful manner. We are convinced that this infamous city contains not one innocent person ; we are therefore steeled against the tears of repentance, and nothing shall or can disarm the terrors of our severity. We will respect your decree for the annihilation of the city of Lyons. Little has yet been done to execute it. The ordinary mode of destruction is too slow. Republican impatience demands more speedy and effectual measures. The explosion of the mine and the devouring activity of fire, can alone express the omnipotence of the people.”

From Lyons, Fouché proceeded to Toulon. He thence writes to his former sanguinary companion in terms which make my blood curdle while I translate them :—“ And we likewise, my friend, have contributed to the surrender of Toulon, by spreading terror amongst the traitors who had entered the town, and by exposing to their view the dead bodies of thousands of their accomplices. Let us shew ourselves terrible ; let us annihilate in our anger, and at one single blow, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, the long torture of punishing them as kings

“ Frenchmen ! Within the period of a few days glorious successes and a dreadful reverse have agitated your destinies.

would do. Let the perfidious and ferocious English be assailed from every quarter ; Let the whole republic turn into a volcano, and pour forth the devouring lava upon them. May the infamous island that produced these monsters, who no longer belong to the human species, be buried for ever in the waves. Farewell, my friend, !—tears of joy run from my eyes, and overflow my heart.

P.S. We have but one way of celebrating our victory, we shall send two hundred and thirteen rebels this evening to the place of execution ; our loaded cannon are ready to salute them.”

In a letter from La Vendée his language is even more horrible. “ The day before yesterday, I had the happiness to see eight hundred dwellings of the brigands destroyed by fire ; to day I have witnessed the shooting of nine hundred of these brigands ; and for to-morrow I have prepared a civic baptism (drowning) of one thousand two hundred women and children, mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or sons of the accursed brigands from La Vendée. In two days, three impure generations of rebels and fanatics have ceased to be any more.”

Soon afterwards the monster Robespierre met his fate ; when accusations pouring in from all quarters against this the most sanguinary of all the instruments of his cruelty, Fouché was expelled from the convention as a disgrace to any assembly of which he might be a member.

In 1797 he again appeared in public life as a commissary ; in the following year was appointed ambassador to Holland ; and in 1799 he was made minister of police, which situation he retained until 1802.

The disgrace he suffered by his expulsion from the convention had a salutary effect upon his mind. To Fouché the minister of police, many unjust proceedings have been attributed, but his

A great sacrifice appeared necessary to your peace, and that of the world, and Napoleon

worst enemies have acknowledged that his character was altogether changed. He was no longer the submissive or the willing agent of cruelty and murder, but seemed to wish to atone for the atrocities that he had formerly committed, by endeavouring to save from destruction the devoted victims of as sanguinary a monster as the detested Robespierre. He was the uniform, the intrepid, and often the successful opponent of every tyrannical and oppressive measure of Napoleon. It is well known that he expressed his detestation of the murder of the Duke of Enghein, in terms so strong that they were never forgiven by the tyrant. The virtuous Moreau found in him a constant and fearless advocate, and it was by his means that that illustrious general escaped an ignominious death. The perfidious expedition against Spain was vehemently reprobated by him.

It was not merely in public life that his character and conduct appeared to be changed. In his domestic circle he was beloved and idolized. His charities were boundless, though not ostentatious; and nearly two thousand louis were distributed every year from his private purse, among those who had suffered, either from his own former crimes, or the tyranny of his present master.

His opposition to Napoleon's injustice became at length so systematic and incorrigible, that he was dismissed from his office in 1802. But the vast machine of the French police could only be managed but by him who had first arranged its complicated parts, and in 1805 he was re-instated in his former situation.

The perfection to which the police of France was brought by Fouché was admirable. It is supposed that more than three hundred thousand persons were employed by him,—none of whom were known to each other, and from whom he received weekly, and almost daily accounts of the actions, and most private conversation of nearly every individual in the empire.

abdicated the imperial power. His abdication forms the term of his political life. His son is proclaimed.

The Emperor once expressed some doubt of the accuracy of his intelligence, and the possibility of his arriving at many of the facts which Fouché pretended to know. The minister was piqued, and pledged himself to relate to the Emperor every action which he performed, and every conversation which he held during the following day. Napoleon used every precaution to prevent the possibility of being overlooked. He shut himself in his cabinet. He admitted no domestic to wait upon him whose fidelity had not stood the test of many years service. He wrote several despatches with his own hand, and committed them to messengers who had never deceived him.

On the next morning Fouché entered his cabinet, and laid before him a detailed account of the preceding day. He told him every person who had been admitted to his presence, and the nature of their conversation. Some of the conferences had passed without witnesses and were of the most important and delicate nature. He gave him the substance of every despatch, and related a thousand little contrivances of Napoleon to elude inspection; but he acknowledged that he knew not what became of the Emperor after a certain hour; that he could not extort this from his agents, but that they were ready to relate the whole, if required, to the Emperor himself. Napoleon hastily replied that this was perfectly unnecessary,—that he was quite satisfied, and he added, that the latter part of the evening had not been spent in the best company.

On the restoration of Lewis XVIII Fouché was continued in his office, and happy would it have been for that monarch had he listened to the counsels of this able and patriotic adviser. It has never been questioned by any candid mind, that the Duke of Otranto was sincerely disposed to uphold the throne of the Bourbons, and that he preferred the constitutional government of the

Your new constitution, which possesses as yet only good principles, is about to undergo its ap-

legitimate monarch, to that despotism which he had uniformly opposed. Yet it cannot be denied that he latterly ranked among those whom the unwise councils of the family of the monarch had disgusted, and rendered suspicious, and perhaps it would be difficult for the Duke to prove that he was altogether ignorant of the plot for the return of the Corsican. He accepted the same office under Napoleon on his re-assumption of the throne, because he believed that the tyrant, like himself, was reformed, and because he did not expect that Europe would have made a common cause against him. He retained that office, because he thought he might confirm the wavering resolutions of Napoleon, and prevent a relapse into his former despotism. He served his country by continuing the minister of Napoleon. He turned him from many projects of revenge, and saved the lives of thousands, who with unexampled ingratitude would now rejoice to see his blood flow on the scaffold. After the defeat of Waterloo, he exerted himself to prepare for the return of the Bourbons as the only means of delivering his ill-fated country from the horrors which threatened to overwhelm her.

On the return of Lewis from Ghent, he continued to retain his situation, and to offer to the monarch the wisest and the best advice, and he at length retired from the ministry, or rather was driven from it, because he would not sanction the disgrace and dismemberment of his country, nor give his countenance to those furious and re-actionary measures which would have brought upon France more aggravated sufferings than she has yet endured.

† Caulincourt is well known as having been one of the principal favourites of Buonaparte, and the agent of most of his atrocities. The arrest and murder of the Duke of Enghein, after other officers, to their immortal honour, had indignantly re-

plication, and even those principles are to be purified and extended.

There no longer exist powers jealous of each other. The space is free to the enlightened patriotism of your representatives, and the peers feel, think, and vote as the public opinion directs.

After twenty-five years of political tempests, the moment has arrived when every thing wise and sublime that has been conceived respecting social institutions may be perfected in yours.

Let reason and genius speak, and from what-

fused to have any concern in so diabolical a transaction, will ever stamp disgrace and infamy on his name.

† Quinette was formerly an advocate at Soissons. He was elected a member of the national convention for the department of l'Ain. In 1793, he was one of the commissioners sent to the army of General Dumourier. He and his colleagues were seized by that General, and delivered to the Austrians, by whom he was imprisoned at Maestricht, then at Coblentz, afterwards at Wurzburg, then at Spielberg, and finally at Fribourg in the Brisgaw. He was detained more than two years, and was at length exchanged with his colleagues for the present Duchess of Angouleme. He was afterwards elected a member of the council of five hundred, and during the reign of the Directory was appointed minister of the interior. When Buonaparte assumed the consulate he was dismissed, but appointed prefect of the Somme, to which were attached some other offices of emolument. He held these situations until the return of the Bourbons in 1814. He was never supposed to possess extraordinary abilities, but enjoyed the reputation of a liberal and honest man.

ever side their voices may proceed they shall be heard.

Plenipotentiaries have departed in order to treat in the name of the nation, and to negotiate with the powers of Europe that peace which they have promised on one condition, which is now fulfilled.

The whole world will, like you, be attentive to their reply. Their answer will make known whether justice and promises are accounted any thing on earth.

Frenchmen! be united. Let all rally under circumstances of such great importance. Let civil discords be appeased. Let dissensions be silent at this moment in which the great interests of nations are to be discussed. Be united from the north of France to the Pyrenees, and from La Vendée to Marseilles.

Who is he, who, born on the soil of France, whatever may be his party, whatever his political opinions, will not range himself under the national standard to defend the independence of the country?

Armies may in part be destroyed, but the experience of all ages, and of all nations proves that an intrepid nation combating for justice and liberty cannot be vanquished.

The Emperor in abdicating has offered himself as a sacrifice. The members of the government

devote themselves in accepting from your representatives the reins of state.

(Signed) The Duke of OTRANTO.

June 24. T. BERLIER *, Secretary."

The second paragraph in this proclamation had produced a very animated discussion in both chambers, and an exceedingly curious one in the chamber of peers. From the silence of both houses respecting the condition on which Napoleon had abdicated, and the observation of the president of the deputies, that he had no commission to speak on that head, the friends of Napoleon began to fear that some plot was in agitation unfavourable to his dynasty: they suspected that

* Berlier was originally an advocate. He was a member of the convention, and voted for the death of Lewis XVI. During the horrible domination of Robespierre he was a zealous supporter of the tyrant, but escaped the fate which overwhelmed his colleagues. He was afterwards a member of the council of five hundred, when he made the infamous proposition that the relatives of the emigrants should be detained as hostages, and made answerable for their good behaviour. This proposal was rejected with indignation, and procured him the nickname of *Berlier Otage* (Hostage Berlier). When Buonaparte became consul he was made chief judge of the court of admiralty, and was celebrated for the dexterity with which he contrived to find some plausible ground for the condemnation of every vessel. His talents were universally respected,—while his rough and brutal manners continually recalled to recollection the part which he had borne in the disgraceful atrocities of Robespierre.

the delusive theory of a republic would be again attempted, or that the recall of the Bourbons was in contemplation. They, therefore, hastened to bring the matter to the test, and the very evening of the day on which Napoleon had abdicated Prince Lucien opened the business in the chamber of peers.

“ We have to consider,” said he, “ how civil war is to be avoided. Is France an independent or free nation? The Emperor is dead—*Vive l'Empereur*?—The Emperor has abdicated—*Vive l'Empereur*? There can be no actual cessation between the Emperor who dies or abdicates, and his successor. Such is the maxim which forms the foundation of a constitutional monarchy. All interruption is anarchy. I move that, in conformity with the constitutional act which has been for the second time sanctioned by the chamber of peers and that of the representatives, the chamber of peers, which has sworn fidelity to the Emperor and the constitutions, and which lately in the Champ de Mai, in the face of France and of all Europe proclaimed them, shall by a spontaneous and unanimous vote declare before the French people and foreign nations that it recognizes Napoleon II as Emperor of the French. I shall give the first example and swear fidelity to him. If a factious minority should attack the dynasty and the constitution, it is not in the chamber of peers that traitors will be found. It

is not in the chamber of peers, which has given examples of devotedness that the factious will find a support."

Several members—"Seconded."

Count Pontecoulant*. It is painful for me

* Pontecoulant was nobly descended. At the breaking out of the revolution he was sub-lieutenant in the body-guards of which his father was major. He espoused the popular cause with all the violence of youthful ardour, and underwent considerable persecution from his family on that account. He was elected a member of the national convention for the department of Calvados. He there connected himself with the enlightened and patriotic advocates of rational and moderate liberty. He voted that the King was guilty, but proposed that he should be imprisoned until a general peace and then banished. When the Mountain party prevailed, he narrowly escaped the destruction in which the leaders of the liberal party were involved, and made his escape from Paris. After the deserved fall of Robespierre he resumed his seat in the convention, and gained much credit for the zeal with which he defended the colleagues of the monster who had so lately thirsted for his blood. In that he was assisted by Carnot, and they succeeded in laying that spirit of re-action which threatened to deluge France with blood.

Under the directory he was elected a member of the council of five hundred, and distinguished himself by his watchful and zealous opposition to every arbitrary and unjust measure. When he perceived the despotism at which the directory aimed, he was so deeply implicated in a plot to overthrow them and preserve the liberties of his country, that he was sentenced to be deported to Cayenne with Pichegru, and Barthelemy. He again effected his escape, and never afterwards deemed it prudent to resume his seat in the council.

Buonaparte knew how to estimate his worth, and recalling him from his retirement, appointed him prefect of Brussels,

to give an opinion in opposition to the last speaker. What I would not have said during the prosperity of the Emperor, I shall now state when adversity has struck him. Napoleon is my benefactor. I am indebted to him for every thing. I remained faithful unto him until he released me from the obligations of my oath, and gratitude for his benefits will bind me to him until I draw my

which situation he filled during many years, with honour to himself, and advantage to those over whom he presided. He was equally beloved and respected by all parties, and was one of the very few who have passed through the various stages of the revolution, and taken an active part in them, without one stain on his honour.

In 1805, he was appointed senator, and on the return of Lewis created a peer. This selection gave universal satisfaction. Towards the latter part of the short reign of Lewis he took little share in the discussions of the peers. He deeply lamented the folly of the court, and the ill-concealed intentions of the royal family, and would not sanction those proceedings whose evident tendency was to prepare the way for the establishment of the ancient despotism. He shared in the general uneasiness, but no one has accused him of being implicated in any plot against the state, or of being privy to the design of recalling Napoleon.

He was one of the peers of Napoleon, and in the short sessions of that parliament still shewed himself the determined friend of justice and liberty. The opposition which he led in this debate against the proposal of Lucien does him credit. He was afterwards appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the Allied Powers for peace. The friends of their country lamented to see his name erased from the list of peers when Lewis returned from Ghent.

last breath. But it is proposed that we should act in a manner contrary to the practice of every deliberative assembly. If I rightly understood what was said, it is wished that we should adopt a proposition without deliberating on it. But I ask the Prince by what title does he speak in this chamber? Is he a Frenchman? I cannot recognise him as such. I should doubtless be ready to own him as a Frenchman on account of his sentiments, his talents, and the services he has performed for liberty and national independence. I wish to adopt him as a Frenchman, but he who invokes the constitution has no constitutional title. He is a Roman Prince, and Rome forms no part of the French territory.

Lucien.—“I wish to reply to what is personal to myself.”

Pontecoulant.—“You may reply when I have concluded. Respect, Prince, the equality of which you have often set an example. The preceding speaker has advanced an inadmissible proposition. We cannot adopt it without renouncing public esteem, without betraying our duty, and the country whose safety is placed in our hands. The first thing to be considered is, whether, when a resolution has passed one chamber, and been adopted by the other, it can be changed by one of the fractions of the legislative authority, while the only question is its execution. The deliberation of this morning is conformable to the laws, to the Em-

peror's declaration, and to the interests of the French people. What is it that is proposed? The proclaiming of Napoleon II. I am far from objecting to that course, but I firmly declare that great as is my respect for the Emperor, I cannot recognise an infant for my king, or one residing out of France as its sovereign. In such a situation some old *Senatus Consultum* would soon be revived. We should be told that the Emperor was to be considered either as a foreigner or a captive, that the regency was foreign or captive, and another regency would be formed which would light up a civil war. I propose that the question be taken into consideration, unless it be of such a nature that it may be put aside by the order of the day which prejudices nothing. A factious minority has been mentioned. Where is that factious minority? Are we who wish for peace the factious? I am far from supposing that it can be a minority which thinks it right to reject a resolution which would shut the door against negotiation, and which would tend to make us recognise as a sovereign an individual who is not in France. I move that the chancellor do either proceed to the discussion, or pass to the order of the day."

Lucien.—"If not in yours, I am in the eyes of all the nation a Frenchman.—The moment that Napoleon abdicated his son succeeded him. All that is to be done is to publish a simple declaration.

There is no ground for any deliberation. The Emperor has abdicated in favour of his son. We have accepted his sacrifice. Are we now to make him lose the fruit of that sacrifice? We want not the opinion of foreigners. In recognising Napoleon II we shall do our duty. We call to the throne him whom the constitution and the will of the people have already called to that station.

Boissy*.—“ I foresaw the difficulty which has arisen, but I expected that our decree of this morning would have averted it. That decree prejudices nothing, but it terminated the question. Have we not had enough of foreign war, and is it wished to give us civil war also? Let us not divide ourselves. We accepted the abdication unanimously. The only thing now to be done is to appoint a provisional government. I hope we shall be able to stop the progress of the foreigner,

* Boissy d'Anglas was born at Anonnay in 1756, and was an advocate of the parliament of Paris, and *Maître d'hôtel* to Monsieur, now Lewis XVIII. He is a man of letters, and in early life distinguished himself for some excellent papers presented to the academy of inscriptions. He was successively member of the constituent assembly, the national convention, and the council of five hundred. He was named a peer of France by Lewis XVIII, and afterwards by Napoleon. He was sometime president of the convention, and his conduct in that situation cannot be justified. He was president on the day in which his colleague Ferrand was assassinated. He was the author of the preliminary discourse to the constitution of the year 3.

but we must not risk the being deprived of the means of treating with him."

Labedoyere.—"I repeat what I said this morning. Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son. If the chamber of peers—if that of the representatives do not proclaim Napoleon II, the abdication is null and void. I have heard voices surrounding the throne of the prosperous sovereign, but they withdraw from it now that he is in misfortune. There are persons who will not acknowledge Napoleon II, because they wish to receive the law from foreigners, to whom they give the name of Allies. The abdication of Napoleon is indivisibly connected with the succession of his son. If his son be not recognised he ought to draw his sword, surrounded by Frenchmen who have shed their blood for him, and who are still covered with wounds. He will be abandoned by some base generals who have already betrayed him. The Emperor owes this to the nation. We have abandoned him once; shall we abandon him a second time? We have sworn to defend him even in his misfortunes. If we declare that every Frenchman who quits his standard shall be covered with infamy—shall have his house rased, and his family proscribed, we shall then have no more traitors; no more of those manœuvres which have occasioned the late catastrophes, and some of the authors of which perhaps sit here."

A great tumult now arose, and universal cries of Order! Order!

The Prince of Essling.—“Young man! you forget yourself!”

Lameth.—“You forget, general! that you are no longer in the guard-house.”

Labedoyere.—“Hear me!”

Valence.—“I will not hear you until you have disavowed what you have said.”

Labedoyere.—“It was not to you, Count! that I referred.”

Here the tumult increased, and the voice of Labedoyere was drowned amidst violent exclamations. The President covered himself, and tranquillity was at length restored.

Cornudet*.—“We are disputing on words. The minutes of the chamber recognise the abdication of Napoleon. They will also record the claim of Prince Lucien. That precaution will

* Cornudet was an advocate before the revolution. He was a member of the legislative assembly, and afterwards of the council of ancients in 1797. He was afterwards concerned in the 18th Brumaire, which invested Buonaparte with the supreme power. For this Napoleon was grateful, and bestowed on him many honours and emoluments. It should be added that Cornudet, though zealously attached to his benefactor, was no servile instrument of tyranny, and sometimes had the boldness publicly to oppose the arbitrary measures of Napoleon. By a curious coincidence he was created a peer by Lewis on June 4th, 1814, and recreated by Napoleon June 4th, 1815.—His name is now erased from the list of peers.

suffice to guard the rights of Napoleon II, but he is out of France. To speak plainly, he is a prisoner. Under these circumstances what ought to be done? What does the public safety and the national independence require? The establishment of a provisional government, capable of adopting measures for the public safety."

After a protracted and stormy debate the proposition of Count Cornudet was carried. The provisional government was appointed, and the question respecting the succession of Napoleon II was disposed of by the order of the day.

This inattention to the condition on which Buonaparte had abdicated, and evident indifference with regard to the continuance of his dynasty, alarmed and enraged him. When the termination of the debate was reported to him, he broke out into an ungovernable transport of passion, declared that he revoked his abdication, and proposed to march without delay on the chambers, and forcibly disperse them.

He was confirmed in this by the movements of the inhabitants of the suburbs. The intelligence of the abdication of Napoleon filled them with inexpressible rage. They hastily assembled, furiously vociferating "The Emperor for ever!" It was in vain replied that there was no Emperor. "He is our Emperor—he shall be our Emperor; and woe to those who would injure or disgrace

him." Crowds of them ran to the Palace Elysée, and eagerly demanded that the Emperor would put himself at their head, and lead them against their enemies and his. Bertrand appeared at the command of his master. He thanked them in the name of Napoleon for the affectionate zeal which they expressed, and assured them that if the Emperor found it necessary, he would avail himself of their assistance, and confide himself to their protection. He however requested them at present to disperse, promising that they should be called upon when their services were required. By this artful harangue he avoided committing his master—the chambers could not complain that resistance was meditated, and the co-operation of the Federates was secured for any purpose to which Buonaparte might direct their efforts.

The conduct of the few regular troops who were in Paris was more important, as it indicated the sentiments of the army, and the part which they would take. The soldiers, and even the officers, became perfectly ungovernable. They compelled every one whom they met to shout "The Emperor for ever!" They insulted all who were supposed to be connected with the leading men of the chambers. The shops were hastily shut. The greatest alarm prevailed, and some dreadful scene of bloodshed was every moment apprehended.

As fresh intelligence of the disinclination of the peers to proclaim his son reached him, Buona-

parte became more furious. He ordered arms and money to be distributed to the federates, who continued to crowd to the palace. He mustered all the little force which then constituted his body-guard, and prepared to sally out and decide the matter by force. But many of his best friends, and the truest friends of their country earnestly besought him not to rush on his fate. "The glorious sacrifice of the morning," they said, "secured to him the gratitude of France, and the approbation of Europe; but this impolitic and insane proceeding could not fail of being attended by the most ruinous consequences."

"I abdicated," he violently exclaimed, "I abdicated, in favour of my son. Have they proclaimed him, or will they proclaim him? They break their faith with me, and my resignation is null and void. Have I not the army;—have I not the Federates at my command. Can I not now crush them in an instant? And shall I suffer myself and my family to be betrayed and destroyed?"

"Your Majesty may certainly accomplish the purpose which you intend. You may disperse the chambers, and the resistance of the national guard would be insufficient to oppose you; but be assured that your power would not last three days. Besides the peers constitute but one chamber. You know not what course the deputies may pursue. Indeed you have reason to expect better things from them, and their example will be

speedily followed by the peers. At least wait the result of to-morrow's debate, and do not be guilty of the injustice of violating the independence of the representatives, when probably you would have had no reason to complain of them."

This forcible and just appeal had its effect. Buonaparte had absolutely started at the denunciation that he would not retain his power three days, and he appeared deeply to meditate on it.

"Well!" said he, at length, "I will wait the event of to-morrow; but let them beware how they trifle with me, or forget the terms of my abdication."

The night passed over without the expected explosion. More than thirty thousand national guards were under arms at their respective depôts, and strong patroles paraded every street, and behaved with the greatest firmness and moderation. They dispersed every group, compelled every loiterer to walk on, and instantly arrested all who were disposed to cause disturbance, whatever party they espoused.

At an early hour on the following morning, the chamber of deputies met. After disposing of the orders of the day, M. Berenger* moved that the

* M. Berenger was originally a Physician to the Hospital at Grenoble. He did not appear on the political theatre until 1797, when he was elected a member of the council of Five Hundred,

provisional government should be declared collectively responsible.

M. Defermon immediately ascended the tribune. "That the provisional government," said he, "should be responsible to the nation cannot admit of a doubt, but in whose name does this government act? Do we, or do we not acknowledge an Emperor of the French? There is not a man among us who does not answer we have an Emperor in the name of Napoleon II (Yes! yes! exclaimed the greater part of the members). I am a representative of the people, and devoted to the interests of my country. My opinion is, that the constitution should be our rallying point. How shall we look in the eyes of Europe and the nation, if we do not faithfully observe our fundamental laws? Napoleon I reigned in virtue of these laws.—Napoleon II is therefore our sovereign. (Yes! yes!) When it is seen that we rally zealously by our constitutions, and that we have pronounced in favour of the chief whom

for the department of Isère. He opposed the despotism of the Directory, and was deeply concerned in the plot of the Eighteenth Brumaire, which established the little expected, but more dreadful despotism of Buonaparte. In 1801 he was appointed Counsellor of State, and afterwards Count of the Empire, and Commandant of the Legion of Honour. He had the character of being an honest man, and a friend to rational liberty. On the return of Lewis, in 1814, he was again named Counsellor of State, and Director General of the indirect taxes.

they indicate to us, it can no longer be said to the national guard that we deliberate, because we expect Louis XVIII. Let us re-assure the army, which desires that our constitution should be preserved. There is no longer any doubt as to the maintenance of the constitutional dynasty of Napoleon."

The liveliest enthusiasm prevailed through the assembly. The deputies all rose, and waving their hats, long continued to shout "The Emperor for ever!" It was afterwards moved, and ordered, that the general emotion which had been manifested, should be mentioned in the minutes.

M. Boulay de la Meurthe* next presented himself. His speech is curious, and throws considerable light on the state of parties.

"The abdication of the Emperor, such as you have accepted it, is indivisible, and cannot be taken only in parts. I respect my colleagues, but I have my eyes open. I perceive that we are surrounded by a multitude of intrigues, of factions, and many who wish to have the throne declared vacant, in order to place the Bourbons upon it. (Cries of no! no!)

† Boulay de la Meurthe had been a member of the National Convention, and had not escaped the contagion of its extravagance. He had been created a Count of the Empire, and Counsellor of State by Napoleon, but not employed on the return of the Bourbons.

“Gentlemen, if the throne should be declared vacant, you may reckon on the absolute ruin of France. This country would soon experience the miserable fate of Poland (A member—and of Spain). The Allied powers would divide our finest provinces, and if they assigned to the Bourbons a corner of the Empire, it would still be in the hope of possessing themselves of that last portion.

“I appeal to the sentiments of all good Frenchmen. Nothing can prevent me from speaking the truth. I fear nothing. It is long since I have offered the sacrifice of my life. I will now go further, and lay my finger on the sore! An Orleans faction exists. Yes! I know it. It is vain to interrupt me. I speak from certain information. It is however doubtful whether the Duke of Orleans would accept the crown, or if he did, it would perhaps be to restore it to Louis XVIII. (A member.—I can positively assert it). I move that the assembly declare and proclaim that it recognises Napoleon II for Emperor of the French. (Yes! yes!)

Many members now spoke, and M. Manuel concluded the debate in a speech containing the soundest reasoning, and breathing the purest patriotism.

“Gentlemen! opinions are divided on the question which occupies our attention. Some think that it is necessary immediately to proclaim

Napoleon II; others believe that political circumstances require delay, and that the chamber ought not to explain itself till negotiations shall have acquainted us with our true interests. The powers who have already once declared that they will not treat with Napoleon, nor with his family, will they consent to see his son reign? Such is the objection made.

“ But in thus publishing our fears before all Europe, in a discussion which may be regarded as a real calamity, are we not teaching them to require such a sacrifice? Is there need of enlarging on this point?

“ I love to believe that in this assembly there is but one object, that of saving the country. But it must not be dissembled that France contains more than one party. Would you suffer each of them to flatter itself that your secret intention is to labour for it? Would you desire, that in order to determine your decision, the different parties should raise each their standard, and collect their adherents? What then would become of the safety of the country?

“ Yes! gentlemen, since this discussion has been opened, it is necessary, it is urgent upon us to recognise Napoleon II Emperor; but at the same time it is fit that France should know the motives which influenced us in the nomination of the executive commission, and that in composing it of wise and upright men, we intended to form a council of regency.

“ In conclusion I will address myself to those who appear to think that political circumstances require delay. I will tell them that this discussion has sufficiently made known our firm resolution to do every thing henceforward for France, and not for a family. If the foreign powers refuse to acknowledge Napoleon II, there will still be time to come to a determination, and no one will balance between one man and twenty millions of men.

“ I move that we pass to the order of the day on the following grounds:—

“ I. That Napoleon II is become Emperor of the French by the act of abdication of Napoleon I, and by the power of the constitutions of the Empire.

“ II. That the two chambers desired and meant by their decree of yesterday, in nominating a commission of provisional government to assure to the nation the guarantee necessary under the extraordinary circumstances in which it is placed, for its liberty and repose.”

It was afterwards moved that a deputation should be sent to the Emperor to make known this decision, and that the members of the provisional government should take an oath of obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and of fidelity to Napoleon II; but this was opposed as unnecessary, and the chamber adjourned.

The obstinate refusal of Napoleon to abdicate, except in favour of his son, had rendered the measures which the chambers now adopted, absolutely necessary. Had not Napoleon II been acknowledged, Buonaparte would have revoked his conditional surrender of the imperial throne, dispersed the chambers, kindled a civil war, or, with all the convulsive energies of despair, have prolonged the foreign contest until the capital was reduced to ashes, and the whole of France laid waste. But while they avoided this evil, they incurred the danger of another, at first appearance quite as great. The Allies had declared that they would not treat with Napoleon or his family. They therefore could not, and they would not enter into negotiations with a regency or an executive committee governing in the name of the son of Napoleon. A regard to their solemn declarations forbade it, and motives of policy rendered it altogether impossible.

Whatever might be the real fact, they would naturally suppose that the act of abdication in favour of his son was merely yielded with the hope of warding off the present danger, and sowing the seeds of dissension among the Allies. Under the nominal government of the child, or under the regency of the mother, the power would really be vested in Napoleon himself. Who would naturally have so much influence, as the father of

the young king. And if Napoleon still directed the affairs of France, the reasons for war continued precisely the same. The world would yet have to fear his overweening ambition. The Allies would have no security against the perfidiousness of his character ; and their sacred compact, made in the hour of soberest, wisest deliberation would be broken, never to lay down their arms until Buonaparte was effectually prevented from again troubling the repose of Europe.

This evil then attended the decision of the chambers to proclaim Napoleon II, that there was no hope of peace. They were sensible of this, and the commissioners (the appointment of whom will be mentioned presently) who were despatched to the Allies, to enter into negotiations, were intrusted with the fullest powers to treat on terms most consistent with the honour and independence of France, without limitation to any particular family or chief.

The obstinacy and selfishness of Napoleon, however, probably saved the country from the most aggravated calamities. Had he unconditionally resigned, and had the chambers appointed an executive committee to govern provisionally in the name of the nation, all the different factions would have taken arms, and struggled for the ascendancy; and France would have groaned under the double horrors of civil and

foreign war. Or had the firmness of the government repressed the factions, the commissioners who were sent to the head-quarters of the Allies would not have been received. The coalesced sovereigns had resolved to treat for peace only within the walls of Paris: nay, they had gone further, Lewis had become a partner in the coalition, and the monarchs had pledged themselves to restore him to the throne. A secret treaty, unknown even to his ministers, had been made between him and them, in which he had re-purchased the crown at the price of resigning some of the bulwarks of France, and levying on it the most oppressive contributions. The Allies would therefore have pressed on, and Lewis would have followed in their train.

This plain and unblushing violation of their solemn declarations, that they made war on Napoleon and his family alone, and would not otherwise interfere with the right of the French to choose their own form of government, and their own prince, would have excited a universal burst of indignation and horror. The whole population would have flown to arms. The war would have become national, and it would have probably terminated only in the utter ruin of France: or if a united people had repelled the innumerable bands of their invaders, a military spirit would have been rekindled in France, and a military go-

vernment established, which would again have shaken every throne in Europe to its very foundations.

Napoleon II being acknowledged by the provisional government, Buonaparte had no longer cause for complaint, and was deprived of every plausible excuse for revoking his abdication. He therefore dismissed his Allies from the suburbs, and seemed tranquilly to resign himself to his fate. But the mischief produced by the partial encouragement which they had received on the preceding evening was not soon repaired. The federates had now formed themselves into regular bands. They had procured arms of every description, and on the night of the 23d, they paraded the streets, insulted the peaceable citizens, and even attacked some pickets of the national guard. In one place they succeeded in overpowering a considerable detachment of the guard; but assistance timely arriving, the ring-leaders were secured, and the rest dispersed.

The officers and soldiers of the line no longer indulged in violent conduct, and more violent language. Since their chief had confirmed his abdication, they had no plea for the outrages which they had threatened. But their clouded and ferocious countenances shewed that they were ready to obey the first signal for rebellion. They scrupled not to speak in the strongest terms of

disapprobation of the conduct of Napoleon in abandoning them on the field of battle. They were indignant at his resigning the throne without a struggle; but they unanimously declared that it would be his own fault if he were not yet their Emperor, and that they were ready to rally round him and defend him with their lives.

The government watched these proceedings with the greatest anxiety, and well acquainted with the ambitious and capricious character of Buonaparte, feared that there might be some stratagem in his pretended resignation, or that he might yield to the evil counsellors who yet surrounded him, and endeavour to resume the crown.

To the immediate success of this attempt they could have opposed no effectual resistance.—Fouché therefore waited upon him in the name of the committee, and representing that his continuance in Paris kept alive a dangerous fermentation in the minds of all parties, urged his removal to some palace at a distance from the metropolis. The minister likewise hinted the propriety of a proclamation from him to the army, acknowledging the fact of his abdication, and transferring the allegiance of the soldiers to the provisional government.

Buonaparte had committed himself too far to refuse to comply with this reasonable request;

and issuing the following proclamation to the army, immediately departed for Malmaison :—

“SOLDIERS !

While obeying the necessity which removes me from the French army, I carry with me the happy certainty that it will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it. Soldiers ! I shall follow your steps though absent. I know all the corps ; and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it may have displayed.

Both you and me have been calumniated. Men very unfit to appreciate our labours, have seen in the marks of attachment which you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object.

Let your future successes tell them that it was the country, above all things, which you served in obeying me ; and that if I had any share in your affection, I owed it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

Soldiers ! Some efforts more, and the coalition is dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows which you are going to strike.

Save the honour, the independence of the French ! Be the same men which I have known you for these last twenty years, and you will be invincible.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.”

This proclamation was far from satisfactory. It contained no formal confession of having abdicated the crown. It spoke only of a retirement, which circumstances had rendered necessary, but a retirement which might be merely temporary, or depend on the continuance of the circumstances which first caused it. It appealed too forcibly to the affection of the French army, and seemed purposely calculated to keep alive that devoted attachment to him, which had been the source of all the miseries of France and Europe. When he spoke of having been calumniated, and of the fidelity of his soldiers to him being imputed to them as a crime, his intention could scarcely be misunderstood. The provisional committee, however, was obliged to appear satisfied with this address : and so far as it contained an actual acknowledgment of his retirement, it answered some useful purpose.

It was now expected and ardently desired by the true friends of their country, that Buonaparte would have withdrawn from France, and sought an honourable asylum in some distant land. Had he been actuated by genuine patriotism in the sacrifice which he had lately made, he would not have hesitated to adopt this measure. As long as he continued in France, his name would be the source of many delusive and dangerous hopes and projects, and suspicions and apprehensions as much to be apprehended.

However sincere he might be in renouncing the imperial sway, however disposed to assume the character of a simple citizen, he could not repress the imprudent zeal of his friends, or the factious proceedings of his enemies. Nor would the coalesced sovereigns treat with any government which might be established in France, while, by his remaining in the country he might be supposed to influence the negotiations, or might again possess the power of disturbing the peace of France.

Had Napoleon been actuated purely by patriotic views, he would have felt the force of this reasoning, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom with whose happiness his presence was inconsistent. But though he had resigned the crown, and seemed to have relinquished all intention of resuming it either by artifice or force, he had not abandoned every prospect of ultimately regaining it. He had likewise another hope; should it appear that he was destined no more to wield the imperial sceptre, he trusted that his military talents and the known devotion of his soldiers would induce the government to appoint him generalissimo; little recollecting how unwilling they who knew his character must be to intrust him with so formidable a power. He actually applied to the provisional committee, soliciting to be permitted again to combat at the head of

his troops, no longer as emperor, but as a simple general.

This accounts for the reluctance with which he quitted Paris, and for his afterwards lingering at Malmaison, notwithstanding the hints of some of his counsellors that he was yet too near the capital, and the urgent entreaties of others to save himself, ere too late, by a prudent retreat.

The mingled attachment and fear of his old ministers had provided a swift-sailing vessel in which he might now have fled from Rochfort, without molestation, and sought refuge on the hospitable shores of America. It was fortunate for Europe that his indecision, and the longing lingering look which he still cast on the crown prevented him from escaping while the opportunity was afforded him. Under the protection of the American government he might have maintained a secure correspondence with the few who yet adhered to his cause, and would have been regarded as a constant object of terror and alarm; the coalesced sovereigns must still have maintained a military attitude; and availing himself of the first disturbances which occurred in France or any other country, he would have appeared in some unlooked-for moment, and renewed the scenes of devastation and blood from which Europe could be delivered only by the absolute destruction of his political existence.

In the meantime crowds of fugitives from Waterloo poured into the city; and many troops were recalled from the south to the defence of the capital. As their numbers increased, their disposition became more and more evident. Their rage at the abdication of Napoleon knew no bounds. They openly announced their determination to force him, even against his will, to appear once more at their head. Many tumults occurred, and almost every night human blood flowed in the streets of Paris.

A connexion between these events and some of the inhabitants of Malmaison was clearly traced. Buonaparte himself was not suspected, but the rash zeal of some of his officers was accused: and it might be pleaded as their apology, that though they did not act under the direct orders of their master, they well knew that he would not have been displeased had their efforts to reinstate him succeeded.

In consequence of these events, Buonaparte was waited on by some of the members of the government, who urged in strong, and no very respectful terms, the necessity of his departure for Rochfort. Much altercation ensued. Buonaparte accused them of violating their sacred promise to respect his person and interests. "Could this," he asked, "be reconciled with their present wish and endeavour to hurry him from the kingdom like a transported felon? Was this the gratitude which they vowed, to

banish him for ever from his family and friends, and drive him to seek a precarious asylum in a foreign and distant land?"

In urging these arguments Buonaparte yielded to more than his accustomed violence. He forgot that they were no longer his slaves, and the commissioners were then justified in forgetting the respect which would otherwise have been due to his misfortunes. The conference broke up without any amicable result, and the commissioners departed, plainly declaring that if he obstinately persisted in refusing to adopt the measure which they recommended, they should, without delay, proceed to act as the safety of the country imperiously demanded.

Buonaparte mused on this, and soon afterwards despatched a courier to say that he acceded to their request, and would complete the sacrifice which he had begun. He then set out for Rochfort with a train of faithful officers and domestics, amounting to forty persons, who were resolved to ally themselves to his fate. Two frigates had now been prepared at Rochfort, with which he might be enabled to force his way through the British cruisers who were already stationed off every port to watch the motions of Buonaparte, and intercept the fugitive.

Previous to this the chambers had selected five commissioners at the head of whom were La Fayette, and Count Ponticoulant, with B. Constant

as their secretary, who were immediately despatched to the head quarters of the allies, to treat for peace. The interests of the nation were committed without reserve to their discretion. The inutility of resistance was evident, and universally acknowledged, and the instructions of the commissioners were comprised in one brief sentence ; to obtain peace on as advantageous terms as possible, and without violating the integrity of France, or tarnishing its honour.

CHAP. VI.

Affair at Wavre.—Success of General Grouchy.—His difficult Retreat.—Battle of Namur.—Operations of Blucher.—His Proclamation to the Army.—Excesses of the Prussians.—Operations of Lord Wellington.—Order of the Day.—Good Conduct of the British.—Connexion of Lewis with the Operations of the Allies.—Remarks on the Policy of it.—Sentiments of Blucher.—Capture of Cambray.—Advance of the King.—His Declaration.—Remarks on it.

GENERAL Grouchy had been detached on the morning of the 17th in pursuit of the Prussians, while Napoleon formed a junction with Ney, and attacked the Duke of Wellington. He obeyed his orders with alacrity and skill, and many skirmishes took place between the rear-guard of the Prussians and the advanced troops of the French. Marshal Blucher avoided a general engagement with his pursuers, and continued his retreat to Wavre, which he accomplished with inconsiderable loss. But towards evening a serious contest commenced in the neighbourhood of that town.

The river Dyle, as will be seen by inspection of the map, runs through the centre of the town. The French briskly attacked the position of the Prussians, and as Blucher had despatched the corps of General Bulow towards St. Lambert, and some other corps had likewise advanced beyond the town, that part of Wavre which was situated on the right of the Dyle was carried after an obstinate resistance. Night came on and suspended the contest.

On the following morning Blucher reinforced the corps of General Thielman whom he charged with the defence of Wavre ; and to conceal his intention of proceeding with the main body of the army, and effect a junction with Wellington at Waterloo, ordered him to commence a furious attack on General Grouchy, and if possible, engage his attention during the day. This manœuvre was adopted, and the principal purpose of Blucher was answered.

Thielman advanced to the attack, and such was the impetuosity with which he charged the enemy, that he had nearly succeeded in driving the French into a defile from which they were debouching, taking all their artillery, and compelling them to repass the Dyle, which a corps had crossed at Limale to take the Prussians in flank. The excellent dispositions and undaunted bravery of the Prussian General did not

long avail in restraining an enemy equal in courage, and decidedly superior in numbers.

The village of Bielge, near Wavre, was forced by the French ; new corps crossed the river at that point, and the contest was maintained for several hours in the centre of Wavre, till the whole town was on fire and nearly consumed. At length the Prussians slowly evacuated it, and the French, carrying the heights beyond it, pushed on to Rozierne, four miles on the road to Brussels. Doubting not that their Emperor had as completely succeeded against the British, they looked on Brussels as their certain prey.

As General Grouchy was making his dispositions to proceed in that direction, and even calculated on arriving there before night, he received a messenger from Napoleon at seven o'clock in the evening, ordering him to proceed with the utmost haste towards St. Lambert, and attack General Bulow. This intelligence startled him, for he had no conception that the Prussians could be in force in that direction ; on the contrary, he believed that he had been engaged with the whole remains of the army which had escaped from Ligny, and was totally unsuspecting of the manœuvre which had been practised by Blucher. No blame attaches to him on this account, for, considering the rapidity with which he had advanced, it was impossible for him to be acquainted with the situa-

tion of the different divisions of the enemy, and he could only attack those whom he found in front.

He was preparing to execute the orders that he had received, when fresh intelligence arrived which overwhelmed him with confusion and despair. It was announced that the French were beaten at Waterloo; that the whole army was dispersed; that the Emperor was missing, and that all were flying in extreme and irreparable disorder towards the Sambre. The triumphal entry into Brussels was instantly abandoned, and Grouchy hastened to retreat before the victorious enemy should despatch any strong columns on his flank and rear and cut him off from France. Napoleon with his accustomed rashness, and calculating only on success, had directed no plan of retreat in case of a reverse. Grouchy was therefore left to make his own dispositions, without knowing how far he should coincide with the movements, or compromise the safety of the other corps.

He had scarcely begun his retrograde march, when the Prussians, whom this news had inspired with fresh confidence, turned on their pursuers, and commenced an incessant series of impetuous attacks. In the first moment of surprise, mortification, and despair, the French were unable to stand before their assailants. Many columns were thrown into confusion; a dreadful slaughter ensued, and some pieces of artillery were lost. Ge-

neral Vandamme was wounded, and the army of Grouchy had nearly suffered the same catastrophe with the main body under the command of the Emperor.

Grouchy and Vandamme, however, bravely discharged the duty of Generals. They were seen wherever the danger was most imminent. By entreaties, and menaces, and violence, they succeeded in rallying the fugitives, and though they were unable to restore the fortune of the day, they presented a respectable front to the enemy and checked the fury of his pursuit.

Having arrived at Namur, Grouchy intrusted the defence of that place to Vandamme, while he continued his retreat with the main body, the ammunition, and the wounded, through the extensive defile which conducts to Dinant. For many miles the narrowness of the road would only permit the march of single columns. The passage of the long train of carriages principally laden with wounded was tedious and slow, and if the progress of the enemy could not be restrained a few hours, the whole must fall into their hands.

So closely were the French pressed by their pursuers, that they had scarcely time to close the gates of Namur, ere the Prussians attempted to enter with them *pêle-mêle*. The French hastily lined the ramparts and commenced a destructive fire on the enemy. The contest long continued

until the arrival of the main body of the Prussians under Thielman, who had now been joined by considerable reinforcements which were detached from the pursuit of the grand French army.

At six in the evening the Prussians attempted an escalade. They were completely repulsed in the first assault. But again mounting the ladders with determined valour, they carried the place. A murderous combat now commenced in the streets. The ground was disputed inch by inch, until the streets were piled and choaked with the dead. The French were at length completely driven from the place, and precipitately retreated towards Dinant. In the defile between Namur and Dinant the contest was renewed with aggravated fury. The narrowness of the defile delayed the retreat of the French, and enabled the Prussians to press upon them with accumulated masses ; and though the real scene of action was limited in extent, the engagement was more sanguinary, where the opposite parties came in contact.

Beyond Dinant the fury of the pursuit began to abate, and Generals Grouchy and Vandamme entered Rocroi with not more than twenty-five thousand men ; having lost fourteen thousand in the affair of the 18th, and the disastrous retreat which followed it.

The grand French army continued its disgrace-

ful flight, and even at Mesieres, where Soult endeavoured to rally the fugitives, not more than four thousand men could be collected. Under the walls of Laon the efforts to recall them to their standards were more successful, and when Soult and Grouchy at length formed a junction, their united forces amounted to forty thousand men; Grouchy's corps had retained the principal part of its artillery and *materiel*, but the troops of Soult were not only destitute of cannon, but almost of arms.

In the mean time Prince Blucher afforded the enemy no respite. On the day after the battle he crossed the Sambre and penetrated into France by Beaumont. He here published the following energetic proclamation to the army, which, perfectly characteristic of the man, deserves a place in this history.

“ Brave Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Lower Rhine!—You have done great things. Brave companions in arms! You have fought two battles in three days. The first was unfortunate, and yet your courage was not broken.

You have had to struggle with privations, but you have borne them with fortitude. Immoveable in adverse fortune, after the loss of a bloody battle, you marched with firmness to fight another, relying on the God of battles, and full of confidence in your commanders, as well as of per-

severance in your efforts against presumptuous and perjured enemies, intoxicated with their victory.

It was with these sentiments you advanced to support the brave English, who were maintaining the most arduous contest with unparalleled firmness. But the hour which was to decide this great struggle has struck, and has shewn who was to conquer and to reign in Europe, whether an adventurer, or governments who are the friends of order. The fate of the day was still undecided, when you appeared issuing from the forest which concealed you from the enemy, to attack his rear with that coolness, that firmness, that confidence, which characterizes experienced soldiers, resolved to avenge the reverses they had experienced two days before. There, rapid as lightning, you penetrated his already wavering columns. Nothing could stop you in the career of victory. The enemy in his despair turned his artillery upon you ; but you poured death into his ranks, and rushing upon him with resistless fury, you threw his battalions into confusion, scattered them in every direction, and put them to complete rout.

The enemy found himself obliged to abandon to you several hundreds of cannon ; and his army is dissolved. A few days will suffice to annihilate these perjured legions, who were coming to consummate the slavery and the spoliation of the universe.

All great commanders have regarded it as impossible immediately to renew the combat with a beaten army : you have proved that this opinion is ill founded ; you have proved, that resolute warriors may be vanquished, but that their valour is not shaken.

Receive, then, my thanks, incomparable soldiers !—objects of all my esteem ! You have acquired a great reputation. The annals of Europe will eternize your triumphs. It is on you, immoveable columns of the Prussian monarchy ! that the destinies of the King, and his august house, will for ever repose. Never will Prussia cease to exist, while your sons and your grandsons resemble you.

(Signed)

BLUCHER."

From Beaumont the Prussians advanced to Avesnes, where a considerable resistance was made, but the town was carried by escalade, and forty-five pieces of cannon were taken. The town suffered considerably, for the fury of the Prussians could not be restrained, and they were determined to avenge the horrible devastation which the French troops had committed in their country in former campaigns. In truth it must be acknowledged that to a certain extent their commander was not anxious to restrain these excesses. He wished to make the people sensible of the calamities which the inordinate ambition of their chief had inflicted on every surrounding nation ;

—calamities from which the impolitic generosity of the sovereigns had saved them in the campaign of the former year, but which it was now necessary to retaliate upon them, to check the turbulent spirit which recent events had shewn still prevailed not only in the French army, but through the mass of the French population. By giving them an actual experience of the horrors of war he adopted the only expedient which was calculated to humble their national vanity, and to remove their military propensities. They had boasted that in the former contest they had never been beaten, and that treason alone had rescued the Allies from utter destruction; he therefore now determined to convince them that they were a conquered nation, and to give them a deep feeling of it, which would not soon be obliterated*.

* The following letter despatched with the escort of the garrison of Avesnes, is precisely in this spirit, and perhaps the reader will acknowledge that it was somewhat too severe.

“To Major-General Dobschutz, Military Governor, &c.

SIR,

I inform you by this letter that the fortress of Avesnes fell into our power this morning, and that the garrison are prisoners of war. They will be conveyed to Juliers. It were to be wished that some troops could be detached to relieve the escort on the road. As for the prisoners, the officers are to be conducted to Wesep, and strictly guarded in the citadel. The soldiers are destined for Cologne, that they may be employed

Perhaps he was right. The perverted character of the French, and their egregious self-conceit required the severest chastisement to reduce them to a temperature consistent with the safety and tranquillity of Europe; and yet it is painful, in an age which boasts of its civilization and humanity, to hear of atrocities that would have disgraced the most barbarous times.

Candour however demands the acknowledgment that the excesses committed by the Prussians in their progress through France, bore no comparison to the wanton and horrible devastation which marked the track of the French army through every European country, and which seemed to form its favourite and studied employment, during its occupation of Prussia. It should likewise be added, that very many of the atrocities which were laid to the charge of the Prussians were actually committed by the French, who, dispersed in their flight from Waterloo, became the objects of greatest terror to those whom they should have defended, and pillaged, and even massacred the miserable and defenceless inhabitants without mercy.

From Avesnes, Prince Blucher directed his course towards La Fere and Laon, at which places

in working in the fortifications. All are to be treated with the necessary severity.

BLUCHER."

the wreck of the French army was collecting, and which were likewise on the direct road to Paris. Detaching a corps on his right, he took possession of St. Quentin, which had been abandoned by the enemy.

The Duke of Wellington remained at Waterloo on the 19th to provide for the wounded, to rest his troops after so severe an action, and to re-organize them for further operations; and on the 20th he marched to Binche, a distance of thirty miles. There he issued the following order of the day, which, so far as the regulations of the army were concerned, was highly honourable to him:

ORDER OF THE DAY, JUNE 20, 1815.

“As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations which are at present under the command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are the allies of his Majesty the King of France, and that France therefore ought to be treated as a friendly country. It is then required that nothing should be taken either by the officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner, and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorized, either by the marshal or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where

their provisions are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given ; and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in the way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own government in the several dominions to which they belong.

(Signed) J. WATERS, A. A. G."

The future historian will delight to record, that while the population of the north of France was exposed to the almost unbridled licentiousness of the Prussian troops, and to the worse atrocities of their own disbanded and ferocious soldiers, the progress of the English army was not disgraced by one scene of unnecessary devastation or cruelty. The French were literally "treated as a friendly country."

The English soldiers were necessarily quartered on the inhabitants of the different towns through which they passed, but they rendered themselves as little burdensome as possible to their hosts. They punctually and liberally paid for every thing which they required, and when they departed in the morning, they were usually followed by the blessings of the astonished and grateful inhabitants.

The Prussian and English armies advanced in

nearly parallel lines towards the capital of France, but the country presented to each a strangely different appearance. The Prussians found only depopulated and deserted villages. The wretched inhabitants had fled far into the woods, and the soldiers, had they been otherwise disinclined to plunder, were often compelled to break open the secret recesses in which the provisions and property of the fugitives were concealed; and it too frequently happened, that the hamlet which had afforded shelter to the troops during the night, was, early on the following morning, enveloped in flames.

After the British had advanced a few stages into France, the report of their moderation and good conduct preceded them, and the inhabitants tranquilly awaited, or even welcomed their approach. They eagerly produced every accommodation in their power, and often refused the recompense which the soldiers, faithful to the orders of their chief, uniformly offered. It will hereafter be recorded, that in this glorious campaign they first conquered the French by their valour, in the field of Waterloo, and again overcame them by the unexampled generosity of their conduct during their march to Paris. The latter was the proudest and most honourable victory.

The Prussians wondered at, and sometimes ridiculed, and even censured the forbearance of the British; but the Duke persisted in maintain-

ing the strictest discipline, in which he was willingly seconded by all the troops under his command.

Many instances are recorded of the sedulous care of the British to lighten the horrors of war, and to treat as friends those who resisted not their passage. The harvest was advancing to maturity. Their road often lay through fields of corn, where the path was narrow, and over which a friendly army could scarcely pass without doing much unwilling injury ; but the track of the British troops was scarcely to be distinguished even here. Where the path would not admit of their pursuing their march in solid columns, they uniformly halted, and broke into files of three or two abreast ; or even proceeding singly, left behind them no other traces than the grateful applause of the villagers. But their applause, prejudiced as they were against the invaders of their country, and especially against their most inveterate and deadliest foes, the English, constituted the noblest wreath that could adorn the victor's brow.

That part of the proclamation which identifies the cause of Lewis with that of the Allies has a more dubious character. It is evidently in direct opposition to the solemn professions of the sovereigns that they made war on Napoleon alone, and would not otherwise interfere with the internal government of France.

It would have been well if at the outset of the

campaign the Allies had unequivocally declared, that they fought for the tranquillity and security of Europe; and that having already suffered so much from the ambition of French rulers, and the military mania of the French people, they would not lay down their arms until they had extorted from France sufficient guarantees that the peace of the world would not again be disturbed; and that only so far as these guarantees were concerned, would they interfere with the form of government, or the election of the prince. This would have been a plausible and justifiable ground for war, and would have left them at full liberty to adopt what measures of precaution they deemed necessary.

They might then have consistently adopted the cause of Lewis, for they might have urged, and the reasoning would have been unanswerable, that the government of the Bourbons alone afforded this guarantee. The administration of the young Napoleon, or of any regency appointed to govern in his name, could never have been satisfactory. It would, in reality, have been the government of Napoleon himself. The regency of the son would not have consented to the utter disgrace or political destruction of the father, or had it so consented, no satisfactory assurance could have been given, that intrigue or natural affection would not soon have restored the fatal influence of Buonaparte, and again exposed the peace of

the world to hazard. No regency of the son would or could have interdicted all communication with the father, and even in the most distant climes, the spirit of Napoleon might, and probably still would have directed the affairs of France.

The establishment of a republican form of government would have afforded no sufficient guarantee, for the republic of France had hitherto been the focus of disorder and outrage.

The government of no military chieftain would have given the requisite pledge; on the contrary, it would have constituted the triumph of that restless and military spirit which it was the interest and the duty of Europe to repress or destroy. But after the Allies had limited the object of the war to Napoleon and his adherents, and had professed their solemn determination to respect the independence of France, to identify themselves with Lewis was a breach of their promise, which cannot be easily excused.

The simple truth was that Lewis had purchased their alliance. He had given them all the guarantees which they could require. He had consented to yield the most important bulwarks of France; and so to expose the frontier, that no opposition could ever be effectually made to the march of a hostile army on the capital. They could not expect this from any government, or any governor freely chosen. They could not

otherwise extort this, but at the price of the blood of millions.

If the simple expediency of the thing be regarded, the Allies were justified in determining to reinstate the Bourbons on the throne, but unfortunately that measure, so expedient, could not now be adopted without the violation of a solemn pledge.

It has been pleaded that the Allies did not absolutely pledge themselves to reinstate the Bourbons, but only conditionally, and provided it could be accomplished without irritating the people of France too far, or spilling too much blood. When the secret treaty of Ghent is produced, a treaty which was strangely executed unknown to the accredited confidential ministers of the king, it will be seen how far this statement is correct. At all events, if they were not forcing Lewis on his former subjects with the point of the bayonet, they were deluding the French with their specious promises, until such measures were adopted, and Lewis had advanced so far into the country in the rear of their armies, that it would be impossible to prevent the resumption of his crown.

It has been said that much warm altercation took place on this subject between some of the Allied powers. Blucher, whose rigorous measures have just been described, wished to have acted an open and honest part. He would not

have connected the Allies with the Bourbons, or with any prince or any government, but he would have marched directly on Paris, and levied a contribution to defray the whole expense of the war; and having severely retaliated on the French all the calamities with which they had visited other nations,—having wrested from them all their strong border towns,—having laid their frontiers sufficiently open,—having perfectly convinced them of the folly of opposing the wish of united Europe,—having deprived them of every vestige of their former triumphs, and completely impoverished and humbled them, he would have left them to choose what government they pleased, and to fight it out among themselves.

There is a blunt and stern honesty in this proposal, which is strongly characteristic of the hero. No principle, no profession would have been violated; every legitimate object of the war would have been accomplished, and no obstacle could have been immediately opposed to the success of the plan. While the Allies contented themselves with saying, “Choose what government, or what prince you please, but we will take care that you shall not again have it in your power to become the terror and the tyrants of Europe,” the French could not have complained. They would have been mortified and indignant. They would have offered considerable resistance; yet they would not have had sufficient stimulus to unite against the in-

vader, but would rather have split into different parties, and accomplished the work of the Allies, by destroying one another, and exhausting the strength and resources of the country. Yet how soon this degraded and distracted state of France might again have been pregnant with danger to Europe, as in former periods of the revolution, it was impossible for any human foresight to predict.

It has been confidently reported that Blucher was so intent on this proceeding, and so indignant at the clemency shewn to the French, and the apparent breach of faith in the Allies, that he had nearly resolved to defend the independence of the provisional government against any power which might attempt to force on them a prince contrary to their will. For the truth of this the author will not vouch ; but soon after the arrival of the Allies in Paris, he displayed many symptoms of disgust at their proceedings, and gradually retired from all active command.

It was natural, for the reasons above stated, that the coalesced sovereigns should wish, and endeavour to promote the restoration of the Bourbons ; and on their arrival at Paris they might have offered sufficient allurements to the provisional government, to induce them to recall their legitimate monarch, and to sanction his return with an appearance of the national wish. This would have been the most decent mode of proceeding.

The object would have been as easily accomplished, and many of the heart-burnings which now exist between Lewis and his subjects, and between the French people and the Allies, might have been avoided. But the Duke of Wellington, immediately after the battle of Waterloo, identified the cause of Lewis with that of the sovereigns, not only in the proclamation which has been inserted, but by other proceedings which will presently be stated. Whether he was authorized to do this by the Allied monarchs, or took the responsibility of the measure upon himself, is not yet publicly known. There are many mysteries attending the proceedings of the Allies, and of the French provisional government, from the period of the battle of Waterloo, to the restoration of the king, which time alone can unravel.

On the 20th the Duke of Wellington continued his march to Malplaquet*, a distance of seventeen miles. He there crossed the French frontier, and immediately published a proclamation, which, referring to the order of the day, as containing an explanation of the principles by which his conduct would be guided, more unequivocally declared that Lewis was the ally of the sovereigns,

* Malplaquet was the scene of the celebrated victory gained by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough over the French, under Marshals Villars and Boufflers, Sept. 11, 1709.

and that they were pledged to restore him to his throne.

“ Dated Head-quarters, Malplaquet, June 21.

“ I acquaint all Frenchmen that I enter their country at the head of a victorious army, not as an enemy, the usurper excepted, who is the enemy of human nature, and with whom no peace and no truce can be maintained. I pass your boundaries to relieve you from the iron yoke by which you are oppressed. In consequence of this determination I have given the following orders to my army, and I demand to be informed of any one who shall presume to disobey them. Frenchmen ! know that I have a right to require that they should conduct themselves in a manner that will enable me to protect them against those by whom they would be injured. It is therefore necessary that they should comply with the requisitions that will be made by persons properly authorized, for which a receipt will be given, which they will quietly retain, and avoid all communication or correspondence with the usurper and his adherents. All those persons who shall absent themselves from their dwellings, after the entrance of this army into France, and all those who shall be found attached to the service of the usurper, and so absent, shall be considered to be his partisans and public enemies, and their property shall be devoted to the subsistence of the forces.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.”

From Malplaquet Lord Wellington advanced to Cateau-Cambresis, a distance of twenty-five miles, whence he despatched a corps to the right to take Cambray. The command of this corps was intrusted to General Colville, who executed the commission confided to him with great skill and promptitude. He first summoned the town in the name of Lewis XVIII, but this being rejected, a few cannon shot were fired on each side, without doing much mischief. Night put an end to the firing, when another conference taking place between the General and the besieged, and terminating ineffectually, the British commander lost no time by commencing a regular siege. The circumstances of the Allies would not admit of this. He waited not until his batteries had effected a practicable breach in the walls, but after reconnoitring the place, determined to attempt it at once by escalade.

The walls were in most places fifty-five feet in height; but this discouraged not the British troops, who, taking advantage of some places where the ramparts were rather lower, attacked the town at four different points, at every one of which they were crowned with complete success. The town was presently their own, and the garrison retreated into the citadel, with the loss of one hundred and thirty prisoners.

It must be confessed that the garrison did not make all the resistance (which) was expected,

and in some of the points of attack, the inhabitants shewed a disposition evidently favourable to the assailants. Wherever they could effect it without the observation of the garrison, they actually handed ladders to the British over the walls, and assisted them to climb the battlements.

Some depredations and disorder followed the entrance of the British into Cambray, but no more than was utterly unavoidable, considering that the town was carried by storm. These disorders soon ceased, and the troops did not disgrace the character which they had acquired for humanity, as well as for valour.

The town being in the hands of the Allies, and the citadel, not shewing itself disposed to give much annoyance, was not immediately summoned, but a messenger was despatched to the King to hasten his progress, and to give him the honour of summoning and taking the place.

The news of the victory of the 18th reached the monarch at Ghent on the succeeding day, and filled him and his little court with exultation.—When the intoxication of their joy was passed, two days were spent in deliberations on the course which it would be proper to pursue. The moderate and liberal part of his ministers urged him to remain for some time at Ghent, and not to seem to sanction by his presence the irruption of fo-

reigners into France, and the calamities which they must necessarily inflict on his people.

“ Let it appear,” said these enlightened statesmen, “ that the war is carried on between the coalesced sovereigns and the adherents of Buonaparte, and not between the King of France and his subjects. The Allies are sufficiently strong to overcome all your enemies, and your presence, while it could add little to their numerical force, would impede their operations, throw suspicion on the sincerity of their professions, and raise against them an unnecessary and murderous opposition. Your unwillingness to appear while the blood of Frenchmen continues to flow, will be attributed to an amiable and honourable feeling, and will make a favourable impression on the minds of your subjects. But, were you to advance in conjunction with the Allies, it would shew that you are determined to be king again, whether they will have it so or not, and would infallibly cause much indignation and disgust. You have friends enough among the Allies, and secret friends enough at Paris, to take care of your interests there, while you will have the merit of being recalled by the affection and fidelity of your subjects, and not forced upon them by the bayonets of foreigners.”

This reasoning, which with every rational and well-disposed mind would have been unanswerable,

and to which the monarch was inclined to listen, pleased not the impatient and fiery spirit of the princes of his family. They were anxious to return to power that they might commence their work of revenge. They disdained to think that the legitimate monarch should wait to be recalled by the fickle voice of the rebels. They would have him march, like a king, at the head of the Allies, and trample all opposition under foot.

At this critical moment arrived a messenger from the Duke of Wellington, congratulating the monarch on the victory which again assured his crown, and inviting him to accompany the armies of the coalesced sovereigns as their acknowledged ally. To this advice, and to the urgent, and even furious requisition of his family, he unfortunately yielded; and returned to Paris, preceded by the innumerable battalions of foreigners, and evidently forced upon the people without the least regard to the expression of their will.

On the 22d he quitted Ghent, and on the 23d arrived at Mons. Thence he proceeded on the morrow for Cateau-Cambresis, from which place he despatched an officer to summon the citadel of Cambray in his name. The garrison obeyed the summons and capitulated.

On the following day he entered Cambray, which the Duke of Wellington, as if he was determined to implicate the Allies beyond the possibility of retracting, delivered in form to Lewis

as actual King of France. The inhabitants of Cambray were not at first easily reconciled to the usurpation of Buonaparte, yet they had quietly submitted, and had made no attempt to throw off the yoke; on the contrary, when some of his troops passed through the town to proceed to the the frontiers, they departed amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and the air resounded with the shout of "The Emperor for ever!" On the entry of Lewis they exhibited one of those instances of the versatility of the French character at which we smiled and wondered in the early part of our work. As soon as intelligence arrived that the king approached the town, a guard of honour was formed by the young men of the most respectable families, who immediately proceeded to meet him, while a triumphal arch was hastily erected at the entrance of the place. The principal young ladies assembled at the arch, and scattered flowers before the monarch on his way to the Hotel de Ville. The progress of the king had been impeded by crowds of people who flocked from all the neighbouring villages to gaze on the procession, and welcome the king back to his dominions, and it was noon when he entered the city. The acclamations were so loud, so universal, so rapturous, and apparently so sincere, that it was difficult to believe that, not a fortnight before, the same people had hailed with shouts as loud, and as universal, the troops who

were marching to defend them from the dictation of the Allies, and the dreaded return of the Bourbons.

The populace unharnessed the horses, and drew the monarch in triumph to the Town-Hall. The whole town was illuminated for two nights, and, during that time, the squares, the streets, and the boulevards were filled with groups, who expressed their transports by singing, dancing, and shouting, without a moment's intermission. The whole population seemed to have abandoned itself to a delirium of joy. Such is the fickle, versatile character of the French!

The monarch was here advised to publish a proclamation, indicative of his future purposes, and calculated to allay the suspicions and fears of his former subjects. It is as follows:—

LEWIS XVIII TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

“The gates of my kingdom at last open before me. I hasten to bring back my misled subjects to their duty,—to mitigate the calamities which I had wished to prevent,—to place myself a second time between the Allies and the French armies, in the hope that the feelings of consideration of which I may be the object, may tend to their preservation.

This is the only way in which I have wished to take part in the war. I have not permitted any prince of my family to appear in foreign ranks, and have restrained the courage of those of my

servants who had been able to range themselves around me.

Returned to the soil of my country, I take pleasure in speaking confidence to my people. When I first re-appeared among you, I found men's minds agitated and heated by conflicting passions. My views encountered on every side nothing but difficulties and obstacles. My government was liable to commit errors; perhaps it did commit them. There are times when the purest intentions are insufficient to direct, and some times they even mislead.—Experience alone could teach; it shall not be lost. All that can save France is my wish.

My subjects have learned by cruel trials, that the principle of the legitimacy of Sovereigns is one of the fundamental bases of social order;—the only one upon which, amidst a great nation, a wise and well-ordered liberty can be established.—This doctrine has just been proclaimed as that of all Europe. I had previously consecrated it by my charter, and I claim to add to that charter all the guarantees which can secure the benefits of it.

The unity of the ministry is the strongest that I can offer. I mean that it should exist, and that the frank and firm march of my council should guarantee all interests and calm all inquietudes.

Some have talked latterly of the restoration of tithes and feudal rights. This fable, invented by

the common enemy, does not require confutation. It will not be expected that the King should stoop to refute calumnies and lies. The success of the treason has too clearly indicated their source. If the purchasers of national property have felt alarm, the charter should suffice to re-assure them. Did I not myself propose to the chambers, and cause to be executed, sales of such property? This proof of my sincerity is unanswerable.

In these latter times, my subjects of all classes have given me equal proofs of love and fidelity. I wish them to know how sensibly I feel them, and that it is from among all Frenchmen, I shall delight to choose those who are to approach my person and my family.—I wish to exclude from my presence none but those whose celebrity is matter of grief to France, and of horror to Europe.

In the plot which they contrived, I perceive many of my subjects misled, and some guilty.—I promise—I who never promised in vain (all Europe knows it)—to pardon to misled Frenchmen, all that has passed since the day when I quitted Lille, amidst so many tears, up to the day when I re-entered Cambray, amidst so many acclamations.

But the blood of my people has flowed in consequence of a treason of which the annals of the world present no example. That treason has summoned foreigners into the heart of France.

Every day reveals to me a new disaster. I owe it, then, to the dignity of my crown, to the interest of my people, to the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators and authors of this horrible plot. They shall be designated to the vengeance of the laws by the two chambers, which I propose forthwith to assemble.

Frenchmen, such are the sentiments which he brings among you, whom time has not been able to change, nor calamities, fatigue, nor injustice made to stoop. The King, whose fathers reigned for eight centuries over your's, returns to consecrate the remainder of his days in defending and consoling you.—Given at Cambray, the 28th of June, 1815, and of our reign the twenty-first.

LEWIS."

In this proclamation there is something to commend, but more to blame. When the faults of the former administration are candidly acknowledged, and the sovereign condescends to promise that the experience of the consequences of these errors would not be lost, and he adds, "All that can save France is my wish," we recognise the liberal, and virtuous, and patriotic monarch, who, had he not been misled by the evil counsels of those whom adversity had failed to teach moderation and wisdom, would have continued to reign over France secure and beloved. But when we hear the principle of legitimacy again imprudently and unnecessarily brought forward, we fear that the

experience of former errors and recent calamities has indeed been lost.

This part of the proclamation is a repetition of that refusal to owe his crown to the affections of his people, which first displeased and disgusted those who would have been the steadiest defenders of his throne.

What became of the principle of legitimacy on his first return? Was it then proclaimed as the doctrine of united Europe? Was it acknowledged by the sovereigns who would have treated with Napoleon as the legitimate monarch of France, had he not shewn that he was lost to all moral feeling, and insensible to every obligation of public faith? Was it acknowledged by the sovereigns, when not one of them pleaded the cause of the ancient reigning family, but on the contrary recognised the undoubted right of the French to choose the government and the dynasty which they thought proper? Or in what declaration of the Allies, save the order of the day of the Duke of Wellington, was the principle of legitimacy asserted? Where had they avowed themselves the champions of the divine rights of kings? Had they avowed it in those public manifestoes, in which, in words as clear and expressive as language could furnish, they had yielded to the French the right of choosing whom they pleased, with one exception? Did they avow it in the conferences with the French commissioners which were at that

moment carrying on; or did they not unequivocally state to La Fayette and his colleagues, that they meant not, and wished not to interfere with the internal government of France? If it had been proclaimed as the received doctrine of all Europe, it was in those secret treaties which were known to have been concluded with Lewis, but which have never yet seen the light. Either the Allies had pledged themselves by secret engagements to that which they had solemnly disavowed by every public act, or Lewis uttered a palpable and unblushing falsehood, when he asserted that “The doctrine of legitimacy had just been proclaimed as that of all Europe.”

The proclamation goes on to assert that Lewis himself had consecrated the principle of legitimacy by his charter. He had so: but it was at the expense of good faith and common honesty. He journeyed to Paris in consequence of his supposed and implied assent to the conditions that were proposed to him, and when he was firmly seated on the throne he forgot the principles to which he had virtually subscribed by accepting the conditions, and laughed at the easy credulity of those whom he had deluded.

The author is unwilling to animadvert on other parts of this imprudent declaration. He is unwilling to point out the pitiful quibble with which it commences when the monarch affirms that “he had not permitted any prince of his

family to appear in the foreign ranks, nor any of his faithful subjects to draw their swords in his cause," at the very time that he availed himself of the assistance of an army of foreigners whose course was tracked by devastation and blood, and whose evident, if not avowed purpose, was to humble and punish the people of France.

He is unwilling to notice the shameful denial of an intention to disturb the disposition of the national property, when a thousand circumstances proved that the courtiers and the princes, though not the monarch, eagerly anticipated the period when the alienated property of the *noblesse* would return to its original proprietors.

He is unwilling to animadvert on the incautious threat which was held out, of inflicting the most signal vengeance on the authors and instigators of the plot. They were, or were supposed to be, precisely the persons who now held the reigns of power, and whom it should have been the policy of the monarch to conciliate, and not to irritate and drive to despair. Was it to be supposed that they would tamely yield when the king had pledged himself to punish and destroy them as traitors? Did this threat, in which the vengeful spirit of the princes of his house is clearly to be recognised, shew any disposition to spare the effusion of human blood, or was it not the plain and evident way to prolong the contest, and to arm his enemies with all the energies of despair?

The same objection may be urged against the impolitic threat of "banishing from his presence those whose celebrity is a matter of grief to France, and horror to Europe." To whom did this refer, except to the statesmen and warriors on whom it depended to welcome him with acclamations to his capital, or to repel him until he entered it amidst its smoking ruins?

This proclamation did much injury to his cause. It rendered those desperate who would otherwise gladly have submitted, and it again disgusted and alienated the friends of moderation and rational liberty, who would have formed the best support of his throne, and who, combining the greater part of the property, talents, and power of the country, must ultimately prevail. The more enlightened friends of Lewis, and of their country trembled, and predicted the speedy commencement of those scenes of re-action and revenge which would have agitated the people, disgraced the government, and lead to a dreadful and irremediable catastrophe.

CHAP. VII.

Progress of the Allies ;—Journey of the Commissioners to Haguenau ;—State of Parties in Paris ;—Unsuccessful Attempts of the French to obtain a Suspension of Arms ;—Patriotism of the Representatives ;—Siege of Paris ;—Convention for its Surrender ;—Popular Feeling at Paris ;—Conduct of the Chambers ;—Retirement of the Army ;—Re-entry of the King.

WHILE the troops of Prince Blucher were continuing their advance to Paris, and met with little opposition in their progress, the miserable wreck of the French army under Soult and Grouchy was hastening in a parallel direction, by forced and almost incredible marches to outstrip the enemy, and assist in the defence of the capital. At Villars-Coterets the two armies came in contact. A severe engagement ensued, in which the French were defeated with the loss of six pieces of cannon and one thousand prisoners. They were likewise driven from the road of Soissons, which they had hoped to penetrate to Paris.

They then endeavoured to take the road of Meaux, but here they were opposed by the corps of Bulow, and repulsed with the loss of five hundred prisoners. They however eventually succeeded in arriving at the metropolis before the invaders, and Grouchy brought with him the greater part of the artillery which he had at Wavre. The Prussians continued to advance, and on the 29th of June had arrived in the neighbourhood of Paris.

The Duke of Wellington halted at Cateau to allow the pontoons and some necessary stores to come up, and on the 26th attacked Peronne. The horn-work which covered the suburb on the left of the Somme was carried by storm with trifling loss, when the town surrendered on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms and be allowed to return to their homes. On the 28th Lord Wellington was at St. Just, and on the 29th and 30th, passed the Oise, and established himself with his right at Rochebourg, and his left at the Bois de Bondy.

While the capital is thus invested by the victorious armies, we must state the proceedings of the provisional government.

The commissioners appointed to treat for peace repaired to the head-quarters of Prince Blucher, whose army had advanced one day's march before that of the Duke of Wellington, and requested a suspension of arms while they proceeded to the

head-quarters of the Allies with pacific overtures. To this the Prussian General gave a peremptory refusal. In vain they represented that the ostensible object of the war no longer existed; in vain they assured him that they possessed unlimited powers, and were ready to discuss any proposition; in vain they offered him the most solemn pledges of the honesty of their intentions. He would not agree to an armistice for a single hour. Within the walls of Paris alone would he listen to overtures of peace. They pressed him to declare the object for which he now fought, and what the Allies really required. He would explain nothing, he would listen to nothing short of unconditional submission and the possession of Paris. Their passports he could not refuse, and after much unpleasant altercation they proceeded to Haguenau, where the coalesced sovereigns had now arrived.

They were received with much apparent kindness by the allied monarchs, and the conferences immediately commenced. The French plenipotentiaries related the events which had recently happened in France. They declared that Napoleon had not only abdicated the throne, but that the government was adopting the proper measures to prevent his ever exerting the least influence on the affairs of France. They were interrupted by the demand of the British minister, that Buonaparte should be delivered uncondi-

tionally into the power of the Allies. This proposition excited the utmost astonishment and indignation; and La Fayette immediately replied that Napoleon having voluntarily abdicated that he might be no obstacle to the welfare of France, his person was under the protection of the national gratitude and honour, and that when it was proposed to the French people to commit an act of unexampled treachery, he did not expect that a prisoner of Olmutz would be selected as the fittest medium for its execution *.

The monarchs felt the injustice and impolicy of this demand, and immediately waved it. It was not however their wish to enter into any negotiations, or explain their real intentions. They therefore delayed the conferences on the most frivolous and absurd pretexts. In fact they had determined to pursue a line of conduct, justifiable in itself, but which they did not yet dare to avow. They had not only resolved to restore the Bourbons, if it could be accomplished without the extremest hazard of their universal discomfiture and destruction, but they were fully bent on effectually humbling the vanity of the French, and crippling their power. The avowal of this

* It has been already stated that La Fayette had had sufficient experience of the tender mercies of the Allies in his five years' imprisonment in the dungeons of Olmutz, and that he was released by the zealous and determined interference of Buonaparte himself.

would have excited a universal indignation, and a determined opposition, which might have been fatal to their projects, or even to their existence.

Two conferences passed and nothing was decided. The commissioners were as ignorant as at first of the wishes and demands of the Allies. Longer delay would have been fatal to their country. The allied armies were pressing on to the capital with Lewis in their rear, and having gained possession of that, would dictate the harshest and most humiliating terms. In a third conference therefore they urgently required some *projet* or *ultimatum* from the Allies, unequivocally declaring that no question was prejudged in their minds, and that they were empowered to treat on every point relative to every thing and every person. One would have thought that this appeal could not have been evaded, and that some explanation must have ensued. But the Allies had yet another resort. A fresh objection was started, that it was useless to enter into any discussions from which no decisive result could follow, because the English ambassador was not invested with power to treat with the new government.

This objection, which a sincere desire of peace would have instantly overcome, was fatal to all further proceeding, and the commissioners departed, perfectly unacquainted with the demands

of the Allies, but having received a positive assurance, that "the foreign courts made no pretensions to interfere with the form of the French government."

How far this assurance could be reconciled with the declaration of the French monarch, that "the principle of legitimacy had been proclaimed as that of all Europe," and with the declaration of the provisional government, a few days afterwards, that "the generals of the allied powers had declared that all the sovereigns were pledged to replace Lewis XVIII on the throne," the author presumes not to inquire. He has already stated his opinion, that the error lay in the first declaration of the Allies, which should have confessed that the war was undertaken not only against the power of Napoleon, but the unquiet and dangerous spirit of France. Much of the mystery and contradiction which marked the transactions of this period is likewise to be attributed to a disgraceful proneness in almost all courts and cabinets, to accomplish that by intrigue and deception which might be more honourably and effectually obtained by candour and honesty. That there was a dereliction of principle in the later proceedings of the Allies cannot possibly be denied ; and had they imagined that they should have gained so easy a conquest, they would have sooner declared that their grand ob-

ject was to secure the tranquillity of Europe from the dangers to which the ambition and power of France had so often exposed it.

The commissioners had demanded a suspension of arms until the requisite documents could arrive from England, but this was peremptorily refused, and they returned to the chambers, disappointed in the principal object of their mission, yet much consoled by the delusive promise, that the independence of the national choice would be respected. When they arrived at Paris, they found the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher ready to enter the capital in consequence of a convention concluded in their absence.

In the mean time the capital was more tranquil than could possibly have been imagined. Buonaparte had removed far from it, his faction had ceased their tumults and intrigues, and in fact might be regarded as completely extinct. The provisional government was moderate and firm. It appeared to have, and it doubtless had the interests of the country at heart. The different parties reposed on its wisdom and patriotism, and awaited in awful suspense the termination of the contest.

It seemed to be well understood at Paris that Lewis must return to his capital. Every offensive caricature against him and his family disappeared. Yet no violent exclamations of loyalty were heard in the streets, and no factious tumults disturbed

the proceedings of the chambers. The representatives began and continued an examination of the additional act, and proceeded to arrange, with as much calmness as if they were at peace with the world, the grand principles of that constitution which France demanded, and to which the reigning Prince was to be required to subscribe.

All parties, not excepting the most zealous royalists, were agreed in the confidence which they reposed in the provisional government, and their unshaken determination to resist the invaders. They who had been implicated in the various scenes of the revolution, and in its last fatal period, trembled at the impolitic declaration of the King, that he would inflict exemplary punishment on the instigators of the plot:—the army was uneasy, because Blucher had required as a primary condition, that they should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and because they had no favour to expect from the monarch who had been driven from his throne by their defection:—and the royalists, began to suspect that the cause of the Allies was different from that of the monarch, since they refused every kind of conference and explanation;—the ordinances and precepts of the King were treated with no kind of ceremony, but altered, removed, or abused, as it suited the convenience or pleasure of any of the Allied generals;—the plan on which the Duke of Wellington had commenced his progress was no

longer followed, and many fortresses, which had hung out the white flag, and professed their willingness to submit to the monarch, were still bombarded and destroyed without mercy.

A firm attitude and a vigorous resistance were therefore necessarily imposed upon all. The patriotic party and the army could not be expected to surrender unconditionally, and resign themselves to certain persecution or destruction. The royalists were willing to temporize. By immediately acknowledging their legitimate sovereign before the armies of the Allies were on the spot to support his claims, they would excite the most dreadful commotions and deluge their country with blood, while by restraining their hopes and wishes for a short period, they contemplated their certain and full accomplishment. They were not prepared to submit to the coalesced sovereigns, whose intentions were so mysterious and impenetrable, and certainly in some respects at variance with the interests and wishes of the King.

The fortifications which had been commenced by Buonaparte were hastily completed; the remnant of the army of the north under Soult and Grouchy arrived; other troops poured in from the south; the national guard volunteered its service; the federates armed themselves with eagerness; and if some portion of the inhabitants betrayed much indifference, none ventured openly to deny the propriety of the measures adopted.

While the government assumed a determined attitude, it neglected no possible means of averting the threatened danger, and procuring that peace for which the nation sighed. Repeated overtures were in vain made to Blucher and Wellington to obtain an armistice. The Duke of Otranto then despatched a memorial to the Duke of Wellington, partly in the character of a friend, and partly in that of a minister, which did much credit to his talents and his patriotism.

“ Paris, June 27, 1815.

“ MY LORD,

You have just illustrated your name by new victories over the French. It is you especially who can appreciate the French nation.

In the council of sovereigns, united to fix the destinies of Europe, your influence and your credit cannot be less than your glory.

Your law of nations has always been justice, and your conscience has ever been the guide of your policy.

The French nation wishes to live under a monarch, but it wishes that that monarch should live under the empire of the laws.

The republic made us acquainted with the extreme of liberty. The empire with the extreme of despotism. Our wish now (and it is immovable) is to keep at an equal distance from both these extremes.

All eyes are fixed upon England. We do

not claim to be more free than she, we do not wish to be less.

The representatives of the nation are incessantly employed on a civil compact, of which the component powers, separated but not divided, all contribute by their reciprocal action to harmony and unity.

From the moment this compact shall be signed by the Prince called to reign over us, the sovereign shall receive the sceptre and the crown from the hands of the nation.

In the existing state of Europe, one of the greatest calamities is hostility between France and England.

No man, my Lord, has it more in his power than yourself to replace Europe under a better influence, and in a finer position.

Accept, &c."

To this no answer was returned, nor indeed was it possible for the Duke of Wellington to notice it without deviating from the line which he had marked out for himself, viz. to follow up as a general the advantages which he had obtained, and to leave the discussion of every political subject to the coalesced sovereigns and their council. He could not notice it without divulging what it was not prudent now to discover, that it was their determination to restore Lewis to his throne unfettered by any conditions, and to defend him

against all who would abridge his prerogative, or fetter his power.

M. Otto also returned from an unsuccessful mission to England.

The Prince of Eckmuhl, as the head of the army, likewise made a fruitless appeal to Blucher and Wellington*. They deigned no reply to his

* *Head-quarters, at La Villette, June 30, 1815.*

MY LORD,—Your hostile movements continue, although, according to their declarations, the motives of the war which the Allied Sovereigns make upon us no longer exist, since the Emperor Napoleon has abdicated.

At the moment when blood is again on the point of flowing, I receive from Marshal the Duke of Albufera a telegraphic despatch, of which I transmit you a copy. My Lord, I guarantee this armistice on my honour. All the reasons you might have had to continue hostilities are destroyed, because you can have no other instruction from your government than that which the Austrian generals had from theirs.

I make the formal demand to your Excellency of ceasing all hostilities, and that we proceed to form an armistice, awaiting the decision of congress. I cannot believe, my Lord, that my request will remain ineffectual; you will take upon yourself a great responsibility in the eyes of your fellow-countrymen.

No other motive but that of putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the interests of my country, have dictated this letter.

If I present myself on the field of battle with the idea of your talents, I shall carry the conviction of there combating for the most sacred of causes—that of the defence and independence of my country; and whatever may be the result I shall merit your esteem.

Accept, my Lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

The Marshal Prince of ECKMÜHL, Minister at war.

communication, but pressed on to accomplish their object, and arrived under the very walls of Paris.

Neither the government nor the inhabitants were intimidated, or rather they were armed by indignation and despair. Although the thunder of the cannon was distinctly heard at a distance, and hourly approached nearer, not one voice was heard in the chamber of the peers or the deputies, or even in the streets of Paris, to plead for submission. Nothing could afford a clearer proof of the fatal effect which the mysterious conduct of the Allies had produced on the minds of the French people.

An address was received from the army which breathed the most entire devotion to the national cause ; but it was mingled with some imprudent and unnecessary philippics against the Bourbons*.

*** REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE !**

We are in presence of our enemies. We swear before you and the world to defend, to our last breath, the cause of our independence and the national honour.

It is wished to impose the Bourbons upon us, and these Princes are rejected by the immense majority of Frenchmen. If their return could be subscribed to, recollect, Representatives ! that you would sign the annihilation of the army, which for twenty years has been the palladium of French honour. There are in war, especially when it has been long conducted, successes and reverses. In our successes we have been seen great and generous. If it is wished to humble us in our reverses, we shall know how to die.

Addresses as energetic were received from the national guard, from the federates, from the municipal body, and from all the constituted authorities. All were animated by one spirit, and the city presented the strange spectacle of a universal and determined resistance against the Allies of a monarch, to whom many of them wished to submit, and whom all were convinced they must soon receive as a master.

In these critical circumstances the chambers of peers and representatives deemed it expedient to make another exposition of the principles by which they were actuated, and to appeal to the courage and patriotism of the people. The following document was published:

The Bourbons present no guarantee to the nation. We received them with sentiments of the most generous confidence, we forgot all the calamities they had caused us in their rage to deprive us of our most sacred rights. Well! what return did they make for this confidence? They treated us as rebels and vanquished. Representatives! these reflections are terrible because they are true. Inexorable history will one day relate what the Bourbons have done to replace themselves on the throne of France; it will also tell the conduct of the army, of that army essentially national, and posterity will judge which best deserved the esteem of the world.

Camp at Vilette, June 30th.

(Signed) The Marshal Prince of ECKMUHL, minister at war.

Count PAJOL, commanding the first corps of cavalry.

Count D'ERLON, commanding the right wing.

Count VANDAMME, general in chief,

and fifteen other generals.

“ FRENCHMEN !

“ The foreign powers proclaimed in the face of Europe that they were only armed against Napoleon, and that they wished to respect our independence, and the right which belongs to every nation to choose the government suitable to its manners and its interests.

Napoleon is no longer the chief of the state. He has renounced the throne, and his abdication has been accepted by your representatives. He is removed from us. His son is called to the empire by the constitutions of the state. The coalesced sovereigns know this ; and the war ought to be terminated, if the promises of kings be not in vain.

While plenipotentiaries have been sent to the allied powers to treat for peace in the name of France, the generals of two of those powers have refused any suspension of arms. Their troops have hastened their marches under favour of a moment of hesitation and trouble. They are at the gates of the capital, and no communication has informed us for what object the war is continued. Our plenipotentiaries will soon declare whether we must renounce peace. In the mean time resistance is as necessary as legitimate, and humanity, in requiring an account of the blood uselessly shed, will not accuse those brave men who only combat to repel from their houses the scourges of war, murder, and pillage ;—and to

defend with their lives the cause of liberty, and of that independence, the imprescriptible right of which has been guaranteed to them even by the manifestoes of their enemies.

Amidst these grave circumstances your representatives cannot forget that they were not chosen to stipulate for the interests of any party whatever, but for the whole nation. Every act of weakness will dishonour them, and will only tend to endanger the future tranquillity of France. While the government is employing all the means in its power to obtain a solid peace, or, should that not be obtained without compromising our honour, to repel the battalions of foreigners, what more advantageous to the nation can be done than to collect and establish the fundamental rules of a monarchical and representative government, destined to secure to all citizens the free enjoyment of those sacred rights, which sacrifices so numerous and so great have purchased; and to rally for ever under the national colours that great body of Frenchmen who have no other interest and no other wish, than an honourable repose and a just independence.

Meanwhile the chambers conceive that their duty and their dignity require them to declare, that they will never acknowledge, as legitimate chief of the state, him, who on ascending the throne shall refuse to acknowledge the rights of the nation, and to consecrate them by a solemn com-

pact. The constitutional charter is drawn up ; and if the force of arms should succeed in temporarily imposing upon us a master ;—if the destinies of a great nation are again to be delivered up to the caprice and arbitrary will of a small number of privileged persons, then in yielding to force, the national representation will protest in the face of the whole world against the oppression of the French people.

Your representatives will appeal to the energy of the present and future generations to renew their claim both to national independence, and the rights of civil liberty. For these rights they now appeal to the reason and the justice of all civilized people.”

Many persons have affected to smile at this unexpected proof of the necessity of Buonaparte's caution on his departure for Waterloo. “ While the battering rams of the enemy were shaking the gates, they, like the patriots of the lower empire, were employed in the discussion of abstract principles.” The fact was, that they placed too much reliance on the promises of the coalesced sovereigns. They doubted not that, as in the last year, their independence would be respected, and the voice of the representatives of the people would again determine the form of the government, and the reigning dynasty. Having learned wisdom from experience, they were determined that no hasty and indigested constitution should afford the pretext for the neglect of some of its

principles, and the violation of others; and that the object of their choice should, now at least, solemnly accede to a charter emanating from the representatives, and dictated by them, before he was permitted to wield the sceptre.

Had they reflected how improbable it was that the allied monarchs would have sanctioned a principle so contrary to the usages of their own states, and the introduction of which would be fatal to their power, or could they have suspected that the sovereignty had pledged themselves to restore the Bourbons to the throne, to force them on the French with the point of the bayonet, and to put them in possession of absolute and unrestricted power, they would have spared themselves the trouble of these discussions, and the mortification of finding that they were productive of no good purpose.

But were they indeed productive of no good purpose?—‘The force of arms,’ and the deceptive measure of the Allies have succeeded in imposing upon them a master: but should the well-disposed, but weak and irresolute Lewis suffer himself to be misled by the rash and wild counsels of his family and courtiers; should the ardent wishes and imprudent threats daily uttered in the Tuilleries be accomplished, and the despotism of the ancient *regime* be for a while re-established, this noble appeal to present and to future generations will not have been made in vain. Thousands and tens of thousands will answer to the

call, and defend the outraged rights of their country.

Marshal Blucher had proceeded on the direct road from Senlis to Paris, and on the 30th of June attacked the village of Aubervilliers, where a severe engagement took place between the Prussians and the French, who having rallied under the walls of their capital, appeared resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The village was taken and retaken several times, but at length remained in the hands of the Prussians.

Had the Marshal followed up his successes he would next have arrived at the heights of Montmartre and Belleville, the scene of the principal contention in the last campaign. But these and the whole of the north of Paris were strongly fortified, and could not have been carried without immense loss. Sluices had likewise been formed on the little rivers Rouillon and La Vielle Mar, which flow to the north of St. Denis, and which enabled the French to inundate the whole of that part of the country. The obstinacy with which the village of Aubervilliers had been defended likewise shewed the danger of attacking Paris on that point. Blucher therefore on the afternoon of the 30th, filed off to the right, and crossed the Seine at St. Germain, to attack the city on the south, where it had been left completely undefended.

Many intelligent officers had remonstrated with Napoleon on the folly of confining his whole at-

tention to the north of Paris, which was already strong by nature, and entirely neglecting the plains on the south. With characteristic obstinacy he persisted in asserting that it would never be attacked on the south, but that should the Allies unfortunately penetrate to the capital, they would again advance on those points, which they had forced in the last campaign. It was only immediately before he set out for the north that he ordered some slight fortifications to be commenced on the plains of Meudon, which were never completed.

Having crossed the Seine at St. Germain, Blucher advanced on Versailles. The French army had rapidly traversed the city, and was ready to meet him at this point. The ground was here more obstinately contested than on the north of Paris. The town of Versailles was the scene of the most bloody combat. Many times in the day it was alternately in the power of the Prussians and the French, but at length the superior numbers and determined valour of the former prevailed. Versailles was finally evacuated by the French, and Blucher succeeded in establishing his right wing on the heights of Meudon, his left at St. Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles.

The invaders had now no longer to contend with the army alone. Numerous battalions of federates and national guards mingled with the troops of the line, and emulated their courage and dis-

cipline. The federates alone furnished seven thousand men, who, acting principally as sharpshooters, and being intimately acquainted with every feature of the country, harassed the Prussians incessantly, and caused the most horrible destruction in their ranks. The war was rapidly assuming a national character. The defenders of Paris were not the devoted followers of Buonaparte alone, or those whose crimes had exposed them to merited punishment. All parties and all factions, even that of the Bourbons themselves, rejected with indignation the unconditional submission which the allied generals required, and united in the unshaken resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher had not expected this vigorous opposition, yet relying on their superior numbers, and the near approach of powerful reinforcements, they saw no reason to alter their first plan of proceeding. They therefore again replied to the renewed overtures from the French, that they would only treat within the walls of Paris, or for the immediate possession of the city. Willing however to spare the effusion of human blood, they would not lead on their troops to a direct assault on the place, though this might now have been attempted with great probability of success, but they continued slowly to invest and surround the capital. They carried the principal outposts, and

seemed disposed to wait until the arrival of the innumerable battalions which were hastening on every side to crush every hope of the French, would render further resistance unavailing.

While Prince Blucher established himself at Meudon and St. Cloud, Wellington likewise filed off to the right, and throwing a bridge over the Seine at Argenteuil, sent forward a corps towards the bridge of Neuilly. Paris was now completely invested, for small corps of observation had been left on the north to restrain the excursions of the garrison, and maintain a communication with the troops which were advancing to join the Allies. Surprised at the cautious proceedings of the enemy the Parisians, who had expected that an immediate assault would have been attempted on the city, began to respire. Their apprehensions vanished as suddenly as they were raised, and they who took no active part in the operations of the troops abandoned themselves to their characteristic frivolity. The promenades were as crowded as in a time of peace; and although the roar of the cannon was incessantly heard, and long trains of the wounded passed through the city, the theatres were absolutely crowded.

Fears however began to be entertained of approaching famine, and innumerable crowds ran to all the markets, and rapidly bought every article of provision which could be procured. In a few hours neither bread nor meat could be got in

Paris for any price, but the houses of the greater part of the inhabitants were filled with provisions which they had eagerly purchased. On the following morning however the city was surprised by the arrival of the usual supply, which had been suffered to pass through the British camp without impediment. This noble proceeding of the illustrious Wellington will not be forgotten by the future historian of his matchless exploits.

The measure was as politic as generous. It shewed that the object of the British commander was the capture of the city, and not the infliction of unnecessary misery. It disarmed the hostility of a numerous party, who, indignant at the inexplicable conduct of the Allies, had almost resolved to join the ranks of the army and the federates. It assured them that the intentions of the Allies could not be very formidable, when they thus relieved the distresses of the place which they besieged. The Duke of Wellington likewise prevented those tumults and excesses which famine would have produced, and which would have hazarded the entire destruction of the city, or excited some desperate attempt equally fatal to the besiegers and the besieged.

On the second of July the contest was renewed. The first attack of the French was irresistible, and the Prussians retired in disorder. Versailles was once more taken, and many of the inhabitants

who, deeming that the cause of the patriots was desperate, had on the preceding evening hoisted the white flag, were insulted, their houses demolished, and one individual was cut to pieces. This atrocity, not even the peculiar and desperate circumstances of the French, when their passions were irritated beyond the restraints of wisdom or prudence, could excuse. A similar disposition was shewn by an infuriated mob in Paris, which threatened the property and the lives of some zealous friends of the Bourbons, who expressed their loyalty too soon. A proclamation was immediately issued by Prince Blucher, denouncing the severest retaliation, if these outrages did not cease.

The Prussians soon rallied, and the French were, in their turn, compelled to retire. They lost all the ground which they had gained, and were even driven through the village of Issy, and under the very walls of Paris. A grand council of war was now held by the French government, at which all the Marshals and Generals of Division were invited to attend. The question of a protracted resistance was solemnly argued, and it was almost unanimously decided that it must be fruitless.— The Duke of Dalmatia (Soult) and the Prince of Essling (Massena) spoke at considerable length, and urged pacific measures. The latter said “That his defence of Genoa would give some idea of his tenacity in maintaining a post con-

fided to him, but, situated as Paris was, it appeared to him impossible to defend it any longer, and that he believed there were no other steps to be taken, than again to sue for a suspension of arms."

Other officers observed that a suspension of arms had been already sued for sufficiently often, and uniformly refused, and that they appeared to be placed between the dishonour of surrendering at discretion, with the army prisoners of war, or the necessity of burying themselves under the ruins of the capital. At length it was determined on the suggestion of Carnot, that one battle more should be tried, and if the issue of that was unfortunate, commissioners should be immediately sent to the Allies, proposing the surrender of Paris, on condition of a universal amnesty, and the safe retreat of the army behind the Loire. Should this be refused, the army was desperately to cut its way through the enemy, and retire behind the Loire, while the provisional government and the municipal body surrendered the city on the best terms which they could gain.

The surrender of the city was now indeed become absolutely necessary if the government and the army were not resolved to expose it to utter destruction. The main body of the enemy had reached the left bank of the Seine, where the city was without defence. They were masters of the village of Issy immediately under the walls.

The first resolute attack which they made must render them masters of the place, or had they failed in a first or a second, they would have returned to the charge until they succeeded. They had their rear free, and could always recommence their attacks with fresh troops, and choose the most favourable moment. The French on the contrary, were compelled to be constantly on their guard at all the avenues of the immense space which they had to defend, and always with the same troops, numerically inferior to the enemy, and worn out with the fatigue of the forced marches which they had made after the fatal battle of Waterloo.

When it was finally determined to surrender the capital, a new ground of difference, and even of altercation arose as to the persons to whom it should be surrendered. Fouché and Caulincourt proposed that the city should be surrendered to Lewis XVIII, and argued that this would probably conciliate a family under whose power it was evident they must return! To this Carnot and Quinette strongly objected. They represented the good effects which had already resulted from the cautious mode of proceeding which had been adopted. By neither pledging themselves to accept or to reject the Bourbons, and by continuing to deliberate on a constitution suited to the wishes and the character of the French, and which was to be offered to the acceptance of the prince who

might ultimately be chosen, they prevented the forming of political factions ; they saved the capital from tumult, and the country from civil war. They argued that the surrender to Lewis would be the signal for revolt. The federates and the army, who were adverse to the return of the Bourbons, would rebel ; and give themselves up to every excess. The safety of the city would be compromised, or probably the enemy from without, and from within, would conspire to reduce it to ashes. They added, that the offer to surrender in the name of Lewis would be rejected by the Allies, who were now actually bombarding without mercy many fortresses which had long displayed the white flag. Finally, they professed that they could not yet discredit the promises of the Allies to respect their independence ; that if they finally submitted to the Bourbons, they might by delay extort some concessions in favour of liberty, and that at all events it would be more conciliating to invite them back when their deliberations were free, than to recall them as the only method of escaping from the destruction which threatened to overwhelm the city.

Grenier long balanced between the two parties, but at length he decided in favour of Carnot and Quinette, and it was determined to offer the surrender of the city as a mere military transaction, without reference to any political question.

The action commenced early on the morning of

the 3d, and the troops who were not yet informed of the determination of the government, fought with the fury of despair. They were however repulsed at every point, and pursued to the very gates of Paris. The ramparts and the windows and tops of the houses near the walls were crowded with spectators, who viewed with unutterable agony this last struggle for the safety of the capital, and the honour of the nation. Some ventured over the bridge of Jena in their carriages. They were immediately respectfully, but peremptorily requested to alight, and their equipages were put in requisition to convey the wounded to Paris.

As soon as it was evident that the French were giving way, and the gates were crowded with the fugitives and the wounded, many of the spectators, overcome by terror, fled from the ramparts, and spread the report that the French were flying, that the Prussians, flushed with victory, and eager for revenge, were closely pursuing them, and were actually entering the gates *pêle-mêle* with them. Had it not been for the firmness of the national guards, the most dreadful scenes of confusion and pillage must have succeeded.

The public terror was however relieved by the sudden ceasing of the firing about two o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the government perceived that the engagement was taking an unfavourable turn, they despatched a herald to the

Allied Generals, demanding a suspension of arms for a few hours, while commissioners could be appointed to treat of the surrender of the city. To this Wellington and Blucher consented, and the commissioners authorized by the respective parties immediately met at St. Cloud. The conference was carried on in the favourite palace of Napoleon, and in the chamber in which he held his councils of state. In that very chamber which had so often been the scene of discussion for the subjugation of Europe and the destruction of England, English and Prussian commissioners were now negotiating for the surrender of Paris, and the final overthrow of French ambition.

Both parties were in earnest, and the negotiations were not protracted. The Allied generals were eager to obtain possession of Paris, because with the capital in their power they could dictate what terms they pleased to France, and they were anxious to enter it before treachery, or the violence of faction, or the fury of despair had commenced its ruin, or compelled them to join in the work of destruction. The French were eager to bring the negotiation to a close, ere the city was carried by assault.

The following convention was speedily arranged, and signed by the respective commissioners:—

“ This day, the 3d of July, 1815, the commissioners named by the commanders-in-chief of the

respective armies, that is to say, the Baron Bignon, holding the portefeuille of foreign affairs; the Count Guilleminot, chief of the general staff of the French army; the Count de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army, on one side; and Major-General Baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of Marshal Prince Blucher, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, and Colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of the Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the English army, on the other side, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be suspension of arms between the Allied armies commanded by Prince Blucher and the Duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

II. The French army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up a position behind the Loire.—Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the dépôts shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of the administration which belong to the army.

IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies.

V. The military, and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty immediately after their recovery to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army, shall be at liberty to remain at Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

VII. The officers of the line employed with the *Federes*, or with the *tirailleurs* of the national guard, may either join the army, or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up.—The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal *gens-d'armes*.

X. The commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to

make those under their command respect the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected; and the Allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account either as to the situations which they hold or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions*.

* This article has produced much discussion. When Marshal Ney was arraigned at the bar of the Peers to answer for his treasonable defection, he pleaded that he was in Paris at the time when this Convention was signed, and therefore was entitled to the benefit of the amnesty there promised. The Attorney-General declined to enter into the merits of the objection, and observed that it could be of no avail because it was not brought forward at that precise period of the pleadings when the forms of the French courts required it. This observation satisfied his judges. They interrupted the Counsel in his defence, and refused to listen to his argument. The defection of Ney could not be denied;—he was declared guilty and punished.

Although the highest court of judicature in France refused to listen to the plea, it has been freely canvassed by the whole of Europe, and has acquired such interest, that the author is tempted, at the hazard of a very long note, to present the reader, with the substance of what has been urged for and against it.

XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital,

On the first reading of the article, nothing seems to be clearer than that it promises a universal oblivion of every thing which had occurred. The propriety of this is another question, which would admit of much discussion, and against which the author would certainly be inclined to decide. "The inhabitants, and in general all individuals, who shall be in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct and political opinions." It is almost impossible for language to be more clear and decisive.

But it is replied, that the Capitulation of Paris related exclusively to the military occupation of the city, and that the object of the 12th article was to prevent any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris on account of any conduct or political opinions.

The answer to this is obvious: the military commanders, and no foreign power had any right to adopt measures of severity on account of political conduct or opinions. No law of nations ever did or can give to an invading general the right to judge that conduct and those political opinions which have reference only to their own sovereign or government. The French had not sworn allegiance to the foreign powers, nor become amenable to their laws. The article therefore can have no reference to the Allied commanders. It refers to that power alone which had the right to punish, or it is altogether without meaning.

If it be asked what was the intention of the Commissioners, the author is unable to give a satisfactory answer. Two of the French Commissioners were called to the bar of the Peers, and were ready to swear that it had reference to the return of the Bourbons, and that this was expressly understood at the time. The Duke of Wellington has unequivocally stated that it was

and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

never intended to prevent the French government from acting as it pleased.

It has been urged that the King of France did not ratify the Convention. But he took advantage of it ; he entered his capital in consequence of it ; and he never disavowed it. Had the King meant to have refused to ratify it, Paris should have been placed in the situation in which it was previous to the Convention : but when he was perfectly aware that the Convention was made in the name of the Sovereigns,—when he knew that he had empowered the gallant Generals to make what arrangements they thought proper,—when he uttered not one expression of disapprobation but hurried on to take every advantage of the Treaty, it was pitiful, it was disgraceful afterwards to plead that he had not ratified the Treaty, and was not bound by its conditions.

The question derives additional interest from what has since occurred. Lavalette the Post Master-General, who was likewise in Paris at the time of the Convention, was accused of a treasonable connexion with the conspiracy of Buonaparte, found guilty, and condemned to die. The King of Bavaria, to whom he was related by intermarriage, interfered, and demanded not merely the full and unconditional pardon of Lavalette, but “ his free and entire acquittal in virtue of Art. 12 of the Convention of the 3d of July, which guaranteed the lives and properties of all those, then in Paris, who had taken any part in the revolution.”

This evidently shews the interpretation which one of the coalesced sovereigns put on this article. The French Court was staggered. Its desire of revenge would not permit it to retreat, and it apprehended many dangers in proceeding. Most opportunely Lavalette *effected his escape on the night before his appointed execution.*

XIV. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations

The following documents will put the reader in possession of the real merits of the case, and will be perused with interest by the present generation and by the future historian. The author will only remark that the question is not whether Ney deserved to die, but whether he justly suffered after the 12th article of the convention.

The Marshal Prince of the Moskwa to the Ambassadors of the Four Grand Allied Powers.

“ EXCELLENCY,—It is at the last extremity, at the moment in which the critical circumstances to which I see myself reduced leave me no longer but too feeble means of avoiding the condition and the terrible danger of an accusation of the crime of high treason, that I resolve to have recourse to a legitimate address to you, of which the object is as follows:—

I am sent before the chamber of peers by virtue of an ordinance issued by the King on the 11th instant, and after a speech addressed to that chamber by his majesty's prime minister. This imposing denunciation, and the considerations upon which it is founded, are of a nature to give me just apprehensions. Among other motives for instituting my process, I have read with astonishment in that speech, “ that it was *even in the name of Europe* that the ministers came to conjure the chamber, and to require it to try me.” Such a declaration, suffer me to observe, is irreconcilable with what has passed in these last periods of agitation in France. I do not conceive how the august Allies can be made to intervene in this criminal proceeding, since their magnanimity was generously occupied with the care of guaranteeing me against it, and since a formal, sacred, and inviolable convention exists upon this subject.

Deign to recollect that by the treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814, the high contracting parties had formed an alliance with his Majesty, Louis XVIII. Being informed at Vienna on the

until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days beforehand.

13th March last, that the cause of legitimacy in France was threatened by the return of Buonaparte, they resolved upon the solemn compact of that day (13th March) in conjunction with the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty. In this compact the Allied Sovereigns declared, 'that they were ready to give to the King of France and to the French nation the necessary succours to restore public tranquillity, and to make common cause against those who should undertake to disturb it.'

In the confirmatory compact of the 25th of the same month of March, the high powers engaged solemnly to unite all their force to maintain in all their integrity the *conditions of the treaty of Paris* against the plans of Buonaparte; *they promise to act in common*. They regulate the respective contingents, *they propose to march against the common enemy*. In fine, his Most Christian Majesty was *invited to give his assent to the said measures*, in case he should stand in need of the *auxiliary troops* that were promised him, &c.

It results clearly from these different stipulations that all the armies of Europe, without distinction, have been the auxiliaries of the King of France, that they have fought in his direct interest for the submission of all his subjects. Victory soon decided in favour of the English and Prussian arms united on the plains of Waterloo, and brought them under the walls of Paris. There remained, to oppose their ulterior progress, a corps of the French army which might have sold their lives dearly. A negotiation took place, and on the 3d of July a convention between the two parties was signed. The 12th article of which says;

'Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all the individuals who are in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or sought after for any thing relating to the

XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the functions they occupy, or shall have occupied, or *their conduct and their political opinions.*

The convention has been since ratified by each of the Allied Sovereigns as being the work of the two powers, at first delegated *de facto*. It has thus acquired all the force which the sacred right of nations, the rights of nature, and of persons could impart to it. It is become the unalterable safeguard of all Frenchmen whom the misfortune of the troubles may have exposed even to the legitimate resentment of their Prince.

His most Christian Majesty positively acceded to it himself upon entering into his capital; more than once he has invoked the imposing authority of this political contract as an act indivisible in all its parts.

Hence, Excellency, can it be doubted that I am justified as one of the persons for whom this stipulation was made, in claiming the benefit of the 12th article, and the religious execution of the guarantees expressed in it?

I presume, in consequence, to require expressly from your ministry, and from the august power in the name of which you exercise it, that you cause an end to be put, with regard to me, to all criminal procedure on account of the functions which I filled in the month of March, 1815, *of my conduct, and of my political opinions.*

My state of isolation and abandonment is a reason for determining your Excellency more readily to come to my succour, and to enable me to enjoy, by your powerful mediation, the right I have acquired.

If I had not blindly relied on the word of so many Sovereigns, I should, in some unknown land, have made myself forgotten. It is this august and holy word that has caused my security.—Can it be deceived? I cannot believe so; and I expect with confidence from your sense of honour, that you will grant me your powerful intervention.

Paris, Nov. 14.

(Signed)

NEY."

interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.

The Duke of Wellington's Answer to Marshal Ney.

“ PARIS, NOV. 15, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE MARESCHAL.—I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th instant, relative to the operation of the capitulation of Paris in your case.

The capitulation of Paris of the 3d of July last, was made between the Commanders in Chief of the Allied and Prussian Armies, on the one part, and the Prince D'Eckmuhl, Commander in Chief of the French Army, on the other, and related *exclusively* to the *military occupation of Paris*.

The object of the twelfth article was to prevent any measure of severity, under the *military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris*, on account of any offices they had filled, or any conduct or political opinions of theirs ; but it never was intended, and never could be intended to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French Commander in Chief must have acted, or any French government which might succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might seem fit.

I have the honour to be, Monsieur le Mareschal,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.”

The following is the substance of the argument of Ney's counsel on this point.

Effects of the Military Convention of July 3, 1815, and the Treaty of Nov. 20, 1815, relative to the Accusation against Marshal Ney.

After the battle of Waterloo, the flight of Buonaparte and his abdication, the French army rallied under the walls of Paris, resolved to defend themselves, and sell their lives dearly to whoever should dare to attack them in their lines.

But soon some wise man sought to shake this resolution, in

XVI. The present convention is declared common to all the Allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these are dependent.

representing to the chiefs that if a first advantage was probable, the superiority of numbers promised the foreigners a revenge, which would have for its inevitable result, the ruin of Paris and the massacre of its inhabitants.

The generals of the allied troops likewise considered the extent of the loss which French valour reduced to despair might cause them; they felt the immense advantage of assuring without striking a blow, the possession of a city, which the taking by main force would have cost enormous sacrifices.

Negotiations were opened between the commissioners of the allied generals, provided with full powers on the one part, and on the other, M. Bignon holding the portfolio of foreign affairs, M. Guilleminot, *Chef de l'etat*, Major-General of the French army, and M. de Bondy, Prefect of the Department of the Seine, who openly announced their intention of treating for the interests of the state, the army, and the city of Paris.

The allied generals did not dissimulate that their intention was not to conquer France, but only to re-establish the legitimate King on his throne. The provisional government were perfectly acquainted that the King approached the capital, they knew too of the proclamation of the 25th June; it had been communicated to the chambers, inserted in the journals, and printed and posted all over Paris. There was particularly remarked in it the following passage:—"But at present when the powerful efforts of our Allies have dissipated the satellites of the tyrant, we hasten to re-enter our states; to re-establish therein the constitution we had given to France; to repair by all the means in our power the evils of the revolt, and of the war which was its necessary result; *to recompense the good and put in execution the existing laws against the guilty.*"

Another proclamation, dated the 28th, equally known at

XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

Paris, contained the *promise of pardon to all the French who had strayed, but it* announced at the same time, that some persons would be *excepted from pardon*.

These announced punishments, these limitations to the amnesty, in other respects promised with so much liberality, were not of a nature to satisfy those who had taken part in the revolution, and who were then in the possession of the civil and military government of France. The chiefs of the army would have preferred perishing a thousand times with arms in their hands, to preserving their lives for the melancholy prospect of a criminal tribunal. The heads of the government and the functionaries attached no less importance to the point of sheltering themselves from all re-action.

To dissipate all fears in this respect, and inspire all minds with confidence, an article was inserted in the convention, which runs thus:—In like manner shall be respected persons and private property. *The inhabitants, and in general, all the individuals who are in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being troubled or sought after IN ANY THING* relative to the functions which they occupy, or shall have occupied, or for their *conduct or political opinions*.

For greater security, article 13 was added, stating, that if any difficulties should arise as to the execution of any of the articles of the present convention, they should be interpreted in *favour of the French army and the city of Paris*.

Marshal Ney was evidently included in the terms of article 12; he was an inhabitant of Paris, he had his residence there in law and in fact; he exercised functions there, he belonged to the army.

Accused, he invokes the benefit of this article.

But it is objected to him, that, "the King had not ratified the

XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

convention of the 3d of July, that the stipulation written in article 12 only expressed a renunciation of the high powers *on their own account* of troubling any person whosoever in France, on account of his conduct or political opinions, and that they had no intention to interfere in any way with the acts of the King's government.

This reply made to the lady of Marshal Ney, does not solve the difficulty.

The high powers could not renounce *on their own account* any inquiry after any person whatever in France, on account of his conduct or political opinions, unless they actually possessed the right to make these inquiries.

We undoubtedly cannot renounce any right whatever, excepting, as far as we have acquired it, and we can only pardon as far as we were able to punish. *Ejus est permittere cujus est votare. Ejus est nolle, qui potest velle.*—L. III. ff. de reg. Jur. *Quod quis si velit habere non potest, id repudiare non potest.*—L. CLXXIV. ff. de reg. Juris. *Is potest, repudiare qui et acquirere potest.*—L. XVIII. ff. de acquirendâ vel omittendâ hereditate.

There is likewise a *principle of the rights of men*, that “foreign nations ought not to interfere in the interior government of an independent state. *It is not for them to judge* between the citizens whom discord induces to fly to arms, nor between the Prince and the subjects; the two parties are equally foreign to them, *equally independent of their authority*, it remains for them to interpose their good offices for the re-establishment of peace, and natural law invites them to it.—Vattel. lib. III. cap. 18. sec. 296.

Thus the high powers had only the rights of war in the country which the force of arms placed in their power, but they had not

Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

The Baron BIGNON,

Count GUILLEMINOT,

Count DE BONDY,

The Baron DE MUFFLING,

F. B. HERVEY, Colonel.

(according to the law of nations) the power of judging the conduct and the political opinions of the citizens who had taken part in the revolution.

This principle was well known on the part of the plenipotentiaries who concluded the convention of Paris, it is therefore impossible to understand Art. 12 in the sense which the high powers understood it, *viz.* renouncing a right which they had not.

But the King of France was their *Ally*; it was in his holy cause that they had taken arms; they acted for him and his name. The proclamation of the 25th of June and the treaty of the 20th November leave no doubt in this respect; it cannot therefore be said, that the convention of the 3d July was not binding on the King of France.

His majesty, always great and generous, *had not wished to unite his arms nor those of his family to the instruments which Providence had made use of to punish treason**, but the Allied Generals, whose powerful efforts dissipated the satellites of the tyrant†, had necessarily, with the power of acting offensively in the interest of the alliance, and what the lawyers call *casus fœderis*, the power of making capitulations and truces, which in stopping the effusion of blood, would naturally hasten the epoch of the pacification and return to order. Otherwise, and if we only suppose them to possess the first of these powers without admitting the second, it follows, that war once commenced

* Proclamation 25th June.

† Same Proclamation.

This convention has been unjustly censured as too favourable to the French army. It satisfied

could only terminate with the extinction of all the combatants; a principle too repugnant to the rights of nations, to humanity, and above all, to the paternal sentiments of his Majesty for his people.

Thus, the same generals who had the power of attacking the French army and taking Paris in case of resistance, had certainly the right of granting the clauses of a convention which spared the city the horrors of a siege, and the consequences of being taken by storm.

“Since a general and a commandant of a place ought naturally to be provided with all the powers necessary for the exercise of their functions, we have a right to presume that they have these powers, and that of concluding a capitulation is certainly of the number, especially when the orders of the sovereign cannot be waited for. The treaty which they shall make on this subject will be valid, and will bind the sovereigns in whose name and authority the respective commanders acted.”—Vattel, Lib. III. Art. 16. § 261.

Will it be said that this convention was made with rebels? If so, it would not be the less a treaty, a faith sworn, and an obligatory convention. Let us hear what Vattel says on the subject.—“The most certain means of appeasing seditions, and at the same time the most just, is that of giving satisfaction to the people; and if they have risen without a cause, *which, perhaps, never happened*, we ought, as we have observed, to grant an amnesty to the greater number. As soon as the amnesty is published and accepted, all the past ought to be buried in oblivion; no one ought to be troubled for what he had done relative to the commotions. And in general, the prince, a religious observer of his word, ought to keep all he has promised even to the rebels, by whom I understand those who had revolted without reason or necessity. If his promises are not inviolable there will be no

not those sanguinary men who had anticipated the immediate overthrow and destruction of the pro-

longer any safety for the rebels in treating with him. As soon as they have drawn the sword they must throw away the sheath, as an old author observed. The Prince will be wanting in the gentlest and most salutary means of appeasing a revolt, and there will only be left to him to put it down, and to exterminate the revolt. Despair will render them formidable, while compassion will procure them aid, increase their party, and the state will find itself in danger. What would have become of France if the Leaguers had not been able to confide in the promises of Henry the Great?"—Vattel, Book III. ch. 18, sect. 291.

Will it still be said that Article 12 is out of the ordinary terms of a Capitulation?

We reply no, because the parties only capitulate to save their lives and liberty, and it would not be saving them, to exchange the chance of a cannon ball for the expectation of the gallows; to stipulate for a partial and temporary Amnesty, of use to-day, and of no value to-morrow; binding on the Allies, from whom they had nothing to fear, and without effect, as to the King of France, who alone had the right of punishing legally.

In the second place we reply, that "if it happen in the conferences for a Capitulation that one of the Commandants insists on conditions which the other does not think it in his power to grant, they have one step to take, which is to agree on a suspension of arms, during which all things shall remain in their present state until superior orders are received."—Vattel, Book III. ch. 16. sect. 262. Now nothing of this kind was done, because the Allied Generals knew well that they had full powers from the King of France *to save his capital, even at the price of his most just resentments.*

Thus when his Majesty entered Paris amidst the lively acclamations of a people intoxicated with the happiness of seeing him again, he did not disavow the Convention of the 3d July,

T
LL
TT
LL
TT
LL

visional government, the conflagration of the capital, and the massacre of the whole army, but

which it is to be presumed, his Majesty would not have failed to have done, if his intention had not been, in profiting by the benefits of the Convention, to carefully maintain all the stipulations. “We have shewn,” says Vattel, “that the State cannot be bound by an agreement made without its order, and without authority on its part; but is it absolutely bound to nothing? that is what we have to examine. If the things still remain in *statu quo*, the State or the Sovereign can simply disavow the Treaty, which falls to the ground by this avowal, and is perfectly as if it had not been made; but the Sovereign ought to manifest his will *as soon as the Treaty comes to his knowledge*; not, in fact, that his silence can give force to a Convention which ought to have none without his approbation, but there would be bad faith in leaving the time to the other party to execute on his part an agreement not intended to be ratified.”—Vattel, Book II. chap. 16, sect. 212.

Now the fact is that his Majesty has not disavowed the Convention of the 3d July, after being made acquainted with it. Not only his Majesty has not disavowed the Convention of the 3d July, but it may be said that his Government suffered and procured its execution in what concerned the retreat of the army behind the Loire, and remitting the arms of Paris and Vincennes; and that he has claimed its execution in the interest of the monuments, whose preservation was stipulated for to the profit of the City of Paris, &c. &c.

Will it be objected that these partial executions do not bear on Article 12? We briefly reply, that *Conventions are indivisible*; that we cannot rescind the dispositions, or reject one and retain another, because they altogether form the general condition under which the contract was made, and without which it would not have been made.

If the Allied Generals had not granted Article 12 we should

every considerate person regarded it as an illustrious proof of the enlightened policy, as well as the distinguished humanity of the Allied commanders.

Their grand object was obtained, and it was obtained in the best possible way to secure the restoration of Lewis and the permanence of his throne. The capital had been completely intimidated by the innumerable troops of his allies, but the people had suffered comparatively little. Their fears were excited and they would pause ere they opposed much resistance to the future designs of the conquerors; but no irreconcilable hatred, no unconquerable desire of revenge, had been generated. On the contrary, admiration and gratitude were mingled with alarm and terror. The Parisians were in a disposition to be moulded to any purpose which the conquerors might direct. But had the Allies entered over the smoking ruins of the capital, an abhorrence of the name of the Bourbons would have filled the bosom of the remaining wretched inhabitants, the fugitives would have carried the

have fought; 250,000 men would have lost their lives, and Paris would have been taken, pillaged, burnt, and destroyed. All these miseries are spared by the Convention, and if it has been necessary to subscribe to an Amnesty, which, at the most, could only benefit a few individuals, we may easily console ourselves on reflecting on all the calamities which the rejection of Article 12 would inevitably have produced.

same feeling into every department, they would have roused the whole population to vengeance, and an interminable war would have been kindled.

It has been said that the army was too honourably treated, and should have been made prisoners of war. Not to urge that an army which by its courage and devotion on the bloody field of Waterloo had excited the warmest admiration of the enemy, and whose resistance was now more obstinate in proportion as its situation became critical and desperate, deserved some honourable consideration; it is sufficient to ask, in what way it could have been compelled to submit to this disgrace? It would never have consented to its own dishonour, and from the unshaken resolution with which it now fought, the Allies might judge of what it was capable, when driven to despair.

Not merely the army, but the federates and the national guard would never have consented to stipulations so degrading to France. They would have unanimously and eagerly joined the ranks of the regular troops; and in the sanguinary encounters which must have followed, all the advantages which the Allies had already gained would have been hazarded. Fifty thousand regular and veteran troops, and an equal number of citizens, armed with all the energies of despair, might have proved invincible: or had they been

conquered, they would perished within the very walls of the capital which they had sworn to defend, they would have perished encompassed by its ruins ; and amidst the scenes of pillage and confusion which must have ensued, the discipline of the Allied troops would have been destroyed, their corps would have been separated, the name of the Bourbons would have been held in universal execration, one glowing and inextinguishable spirit of revenge would have animated the whole of France, and the conquerors must ultimately have been cut off in detail.

To force the army to an unconditional surrender was impracticable without a horrible effusion of blood, and even the hazard of defeat ; to compel them to cut their way to the position to which they wished to retire, would have cost the lives of thousands ; and they who escaped would carry with them hatred and defiance : but by permitting them to retire peaceably and with honour, their asperity would be softened ; and, removed from the defence of the capital, and the immediate presence of the government, their zeal would soon begin to relax, no common object would hold them together, desertion would rapidly thin their ranks, and the remnant would speedily submit to the monarch whom they could no longer oppose.

The result of the affair justified the policy of the Allied commanders. The provisional government was deprived of its only support, and soon

resigned the supreme power; the chambers separated without resistance, and in five days the monarch entered the city, not only unopposed, but welcomed by the joyful acclamations of thousands who did not before dare to avow their loyalty.

The inhabitants of Paris had during the morning been a prey to the most anxious and gloomy suspense. The shops had been shut, every street was thronged, the most valuable property of many who were preparing to fly from the impending ruin was packed up, and as the fortune of the day declared against the French, and crowds of fugitives pressed towards the gates, despair began to take possession of every heart. But no sooner was it proclaimed that the Allies had agreed to a suspension of arms, and that the city was guaranteed from pillage and destruction, than the most frantic joy succeeded. The Boulevards were instantly crowded, and groups of dancers filled every walk.

Very different were the feelings of the army. They had been kept in ignorance of the determination of their Generals to abandon a city which they could no longer defend, and cut their way through the enemy's lines, and with a devotion which the most prejudiced must respect, they had identified their own existence with the deliverance of Paris from the power of the invader.

They despaired of success, but they had resolved to perish at their posts. Their first sentiment was deep mortification when they learned, that the city was to be surrendered without further struggle. To this rapidly succeeded the most ungovernable indignation. They declared that they would not respect a convention which again betrayed the capital of the French nation into the hands of foreigners. Numerous battalions precipitated themselves on the out-posts of the Allies, and attacked them with the greatest fury, and during the night and the succeeding day, the cannon continued to fire from several of the heights. But the Allies had been prepared for an explosion like this, and satisfied with the assurance of the French officers, that every effort was made to prevent these outrages, and that they would speedily cease, nobly contented themselves with repelling the attack with as little bloodshed as possible, and without taking that dreadful advantage of the indiscipline and folly of the assailants which they might have done.

The superior officers were indefatigable in their endeavours to recall the troops to their duty.— They represented that the convention was most honourable to them ; that it recognised their valour, and compromised not their reputation ; that by their present conduct they could effect no good purpose, and might endanger the safety of the city ; but that, retiring behind the Loire with all

their materiel, they would again present a formidable front to the enemy, and might yet be serviceable to their country.

By degrees the troops began to feel the propriety of these representations, and their attacks on the enemy ceased. Preparations were now made to fulfil the convention, and the different regiments began to put themselves in motion to evacuate the city; but during the whole of the 4th the streets were crowded with intoxicated soldiers, who insulted every one whom they imagined had been concerned in the convention, and threatened those with instant death who would not join in their furious cries of "The Emperor for ever!"

The Federates were yet more tumultuous and more dangerous. They vented not their rage on the enemy, but seemed determined to discharge its full fury on those who had disgraced their country by the surrender of the metropolis. They peremptorily refused to lay down their arms, and assembled on the bridges and in the squares, wantonly firing on every one whom they suspected, and almost on every passenger. It seemed as if the city was delivered from the fear of foreign outrage, to suffer more horrible calamities from its own misguided inhabitants.

For a while the destruction of the capital appeared inevitable, but the national guard acted with most exemplary firmness. Every man ap-

peared at his proper rendezvous, and thirty thousand armed citizens were presently assembled.— Their peaceable, yet determined conduct awed the refractory bands, and preserved the city from pillage and destruction.

Early on the next day it was reported that the Prussians had sacked and burned Malmaison, one of the favourite palaces of Buonaparte. The indignation of the troops was again excited, many of the officers sanctioned and increased rather than endeavoured to repress their violence, and they flocked to the Thuilleries, determined, that since the palace of their Emperor had been wantonly destroyed, the palace which Lewis intended to inhabit should not escape. The federates hastened to the assistance of the troops, and all the neighbouring squares were filled with soldiers and artisans, breathing vengeance against the Bourbons and their Allies.

The national guard was undismayed. It occupied in great force every avenue to the palace, and by entreaties and by force dispersed the assailants, and once more saved the city. Considerable bodies of troops now began to evacuate the capital. The regiments of the imperial guard marched through the suburbs towards the place of their destination without uttering a word; but a settled and ferocious gloom shewed the mortification which they felt, and how eagerly they longed to retrieve their disgrace by the destruction

of the invaders. Some of the other regiments could not repress their favourite cry of "The Emperor for ever!" and as they passed the outposts of the Prussians wantonly fired on them. Fortunately they did little execution. The fire was not returned, and the hostile armies were soon widely separated.

Little alteration was made in the disposition of the different political factions by the capitulation of the city. Although deprived of their chief support, the constitutional party relaxed not in its zeal. The representatives continued their deliberations on the constitution which was to be presented to the elected Prince. Although the city had capitulated, and foreign troops were about to take possession of it;—although the King had arrived within twenty miles of the capital, and nearly a million of soldiers were hastening from every quarter forcibly to reinstate him on the throne and to stifle all opposition, not one member in either of the chambers proposed or hinted at the restoration of the monarch, nor in the streets of Paris was scarcely a single voice heard to welcome his approach, or demand his recall. A reliance on the patriotism and wisdom of the government, and an indifference to events over which they were now deprived of the power of executing any control, took possession of every mind, and the general mass of the population awaited the result, without any tumultuous ex-

pression of their wishes, and almost without emotion.

The provisional government published a proclamation, stating the motives by which they were actuated in the surrender of the city,—again asserting their confidence in the promises of the Allies, and their conviction that the liberties and dearest interests of France would not be sacrificed—urging the citizens to peace and unanimity—but speaking in the most general and vague terms of the form of government, and the Prince who was to reign*.

* PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMISSION OF GOVERNMENT TO
THE FRENCH.

Frenchmen!—In the difficult circumstances in which the reins of the state were confided to us, it was not in our power to master the course of events, and to remove all dangers; but it became our duty to defend the interests of the people and of the army, equally compromised in the cause of a prince, abandoned by fortune and the national will.

It became our duty to preserve to the country the precious remains of those brave legions whose courage is superior to reverses, and who have been the victims of a devotedness which the country now claims.

It became our duty to guarantee the capital from the horrors of a siege, and the chances of a battle; to maintain the public tranquillity in the midst of the tumult and agitations of war; to support the hopes of the friends of liberty, in the midst of the fears and inquietudes of a suspicious foresight; above all it became our duty to stop the useless effusion of blood. It was necessary to obtain an assured national existence, or to run the risk of exposing the country and its citizens to a general subversion, which would have left neither hope nor futurity.

The representatives took a more decided part, and published a declaration to the people, the

None of the means of defence which time and our resources allowed, nothing that the service of the camps and of the city required was neglected.

While the pacification of the west was finishing, plenipotentiaries repaired to the allied powers, and all the documents of their negotiation have been laid before your representatives.

The fate of the capital is settled by a convention. Its inhabitants, whose firmness, courage, and perseverance are above all praise, form its guard.

The declarations of the Sovereigns of Europe should inspire too much confidence, their promises have been too solemn to excite a fear that our liberties and our dearest interests can be sacrificed to victory.

In a word, we shall receive guarantees which will prevent those alternate and temporary triumphs of factions that have agitated us for five and twenty years, which will terminate our revolution, and confound in a common protection all the parties to which it has given birth, and all those which it has combated.

The guarantees which hitherto have only existed in our principles and in our courage, we shall find in our laws, our constitution, and in our representative system; for whatever may be the intelligence, or the personal qualities of the monarch, they are not sufficient to put the people out of the reach of the oppression of power, the prejudices of pride, the injustice of courts, and the ambition of courtiers.

Frenchmen! peace is necessary to your commerce, to your arts, to the amelioration of your manners, to the developement of your remaining resources; be united, and you reach the end of your miseries. The repose of Europe is inseparable from your's. Europe is interested in your tranquillity and your happiness.

(Signed)

The Duke of OTRANTO, President."

boldness, patriotism, and independence of which entitle it to a place in this work. The chamber of representatives which existed under the second usurpation of Buonaparte has been stigmatized as composed entirely of factious characters, and fit associates of the tyrant whose sway they owned ; but when the future historian relates that they were as freely chosen, and might be conceived as fairly to represent the national will as any assembly which France had known—when he recounts the venerable and illustrious names which it boasted—when he records the bold and independent spirit which it exhibited at the very commencement of its sittings, and the dignified and fearless attitude that it afterwards assumed, and which it defeated the plots of those who would have restored the ancient despotism of Napoleon, or deluged France and Europe with blood ; and when he adds that it now devoted itself to the perfection of some liberal and wise constitution, though surrounded by foreign bayonets, and threatened with vengeance by the monarch who was about to re-ascend his throne ; when the historian records these circumstances, he will rescue them from undeserved contempt and censure, and do a tardy justice to their merits.

Their declaration was as follows, and was carried by a division of four hundred and forty-eight to thirty-four :

“ The troops of the allied powers are about to occupy the capital.

“ The chamber of representatives will nevertheless continue their sittings in Paris, where the sovereign will of the people has called its representatives. In the present critical situation of affairs the chamber owes to itself, to France, and to Europe, a declaration of its sentiments and principles.

“ It makes the most solemn appeal to the fidelity and patriotism of the Parisian national guard, charged with the protection of the national representation.

“ The chamber declares, that it reposes with unlimited confidence on the honour and magnanimity of the Allied Powers, and on their respect for the independence of the nation, so unequivocally expressed in all their different manifestoes.

“ The chamber declares, that the government of France, whoever may be its chief, ought to comply with the wishes of the nation, legally expressed, and so to arrange with the other governments as to form a general guarantee for the maintenance of peace between France and Europe.

“ The chamber declares, that a monarch cannot offer any real guarantee, if he does not swear to observe the constitution framed by the national representation, and accepted by the people ; it hence follows that every government which should

have no other titles than the acclamations and will of a party, or which should be imposed by force; every government which should not adopt the national colours and not guarantee

- “ The liberty of citizens,
- “ The equality of civil and political rights,
- “ The liberty of the press,
- “ The liberty of worship,
- “ The representative system,
- “ The free consent of the representatives to the levying of men and taxes,
- “ The responsibility of ministers,
- “ The irrevocability of the sale of national property of every description,
- “ The inviolability of all kinds of property,
- “ The abolition of tithes,
- “ The abolition of the ancient nobility, and the new hereditary nobility, and of feudal institutions,
- “ The entire oblivion of all political opinions and votes to the present moment,
- “ The institution of the legion of honour,
- “ The rewards due to the officers and soldiers, and the relief required by their widows and children,
- “ The institution of juries,
- “ The irremovability of the judges, and
- “ The payment of the public debt; every government which would not guarantee all these

things would have only an ephemeral existence, and would never secure the tranquillity of France nor of Europe.

“The chamber finally declares, that if the bases specified in this declaration be disregarded or violated, the representatives of the nation deem it their sacred duty to protest in the face of the whole world against the injustice and usurpation; and they confide the defence of the sentiments which they now proclaim to all good Frenchmen, to all generous hearts, to all enlightened minds, to all men jealous of their liberties, and, in fine, to all generations.

(Signed) LANJUINAIS, President.”

Much surprise has been expressed that as soon as the city had surrendered, and it was known that Lewis was approaching the capital, and that his return could not be prevented, some respectful mission was not sent to invite him to resume his authority, or to endeavour to extort from him concessions favourable to liberty. The explanation is easy. The French army had been allowed three days to evacuate the city, and during that interval it displayed so tumultuous a spirit that the discussion or simple proposition of a treaty with the Bourbons would have excited them to outrage, would have led to some desperate attempt against the chambers, or some flagrant violation of the convention by a furious attack upon the

enemy, and the most horrible calamities might have ensued.

No sooner had the army departed, than the city was inundated by the troops of the Allies. The chambers peaceably continued their sittings, and hastened to complete the constitution which they had undertaken to model. In two or three days their labours would have terminated: but on the very day which succeeded the entry of the Allies, it was publicly announced that the sovereigns, in violation of all their promises, had determined to reinstate Lewis on the throne without any of the restrictions which his subjects would have wished to impose upon him. On the next day the doors of the chambers were closed against the members, and the monarch entered the capital and took possession of the government. It is therefore unjust to charge them with the omission of that which they had no opportunity to execute. The presence of the army, and the tumult of the federates, rendered it impossible immediately to recall the monarch, or to enter into negotiations with him, and that restraint was no sooner removed, than, before they had time to give the most distant intimation of their wishes or intentions, the King was forced upon them by foreign bayonets.

What they would have done when the model of the constitution was completed cannot certainly

be determined. One thing however is undeniable, that the Bourbons were far from popular in the chambers, in Paris, or in France. An indisposition to their government, amounting almost to hatred, pervaded the whole population. It had been produced by the too-evident design of the family and courtiers of Lewis to dispossess the new proprietors of the national property, to punish all the principal actors in the revolution, and to establish the old *regime*; and it had not been lessened when it was perceived that Lewis was still surrounded by all his former evil counsellors with the exception of Count Blacas, that his declarations breathed the deadliest revenge against the abettors of Napoleon, among whom had been included the far greater number of the citizens, and that he was closely following the troops of the invaders, determined to resume the crown by their assistance, whatever might be the wishes or the repugnance of his subjects*.

* A state paper has just transpired, throwing such important light on the transactions of the period to which the attention of the reader has been directed, and so strongly confirming the account which I have given of the causes and progress of the revolution in France in 1815, that I cannot resist the temptation of making some considerable extracts from it. It is entitled "A Report made by M. Pozzo di Borgho, the present Russian minister at the court of France, to the Emperor of all the Russias, upon the actual state of France," December, 1815. It should be added that the Russian Minister in England has denied its authority: but it was con-

If the Allies had kept their solemn and often repeated promises, and had respected the independence of the French choice, and Lewis would have separated himself from his evil counsellors,

considered as genuine in the political circles of Paris, and is not unworthy the talents of the profoundest statesmen.

“ In drawing a comparison between the state of the public mind prevailing in France, at the period of the landing of the usurper, and that which prevails at present, it is almost impossible not to fear that the second restoration will not yet prove the end of the revolutions of this country.

When Napoleon landed, the public functionaries who had been deprived of their places by the return of the Bourbons; the military irritated at the reduction of their pay, and at the dispensation of honours and rewards in favour of individuals whom they considered as their enemies; the men who had been conspicuous in the revolution, and whom the public journals had designated for so long a time to public vengeance; the purchasers of national property whom the journalists and priests threatened with deprivation; finally, the peasants who dreaded the revival of tithes and the feudal system, hailed him with joy, notwithstanding the remembrance of his former tyranny. This did not proceed from attachment to his person, but aversion to the government of the Bourbons, against which they harboured invincible prepossessions.

The emigrants, the nobles, and the priests, who had lost their domains and their privileges in consequence of the revolution, and who expected that, under the reign of the Bourbons, they would ultimately regain them; finally, that class of individuals who are indifferent to every system of government, and who wished but for repose, beheld on the contrary the return of Napoleon with horror; but the notorious pusillanimity of the first, and the apathy or egotism of the others, rendered unavailing all attempts that could be made to repulse him. He arrived almost without obstacle, and found nearly the whole population disposed to receive him, much less, it must be repeated, through

and given sufficient guarantees that he would observe the constitution now offered him, and have been guided in the future measures of his administration, solely by the dictates of his own bene-

affection for him, than hatred for the government which dissolved itself. Those who exclusively depended upon the family of the Bourbons, defended them as usual, by a hasty flight.

Such was the state of the public mind when Napoleon landed at Cannes, and pursued his triumphant march to Paris, attended by the wishes, and almost unanimous acclamations of the population of the provinces through which he passed.

It would seem that the state of things and of the public mind is not more auspicious at this moment, and that the universal inquietudes and fears which the administration of the Bourbons had excited before their departure, have revived since their return, and that they even exist in a much greater degree.

The violent manner in which their re-establishment has been effected, the disasters which have attended it, the calamities of all kinds which one half of France have experienced in consequence of the invasion of the foreign armies, are far from having conciliated to these princes the love of the French people; and the state to which France has been reduced by the treaty of peace, the military occupation of her territory, the loss of her colonies, the ruin of her commercial establishments and manufactures, and, in consequence of all this, the annihilation of her trade and her industry, have not further contributed to regain the hearts of the people to their cause."

After a rapid and masterly sketch of the character of the king, the ministers, the chambers, and the general measures adopted, the reporter concludes with the following melancholy picture of the present state of France, and the calamities which threaten to overwhelm her :

"In consequence of these various causes, private society, formerly so unreserved and agreeable in France, has lost almost all its attractions; people are divided; they fear and avoid one

volent and virtuous disposition, he would have been the object of that choice. Of this there unfortunately appeared little probability. The Allies were conscious that it was impracticable,

another ; scarcely any assemblies are made ; party spirit prevails even in families, and banishes thence all peace and harmony.

Public and private transactions have almost entirely ceased. They cannot resume their ordinary course until the government shall have made known the means it proposes to employ to ensure the performance of the engagements contracted by the different stipulations of the treaty of peace. The transfer of property is become impracticable. Those who still possess specie conceal it, fearful of the creation of a paper money. Upon a property worth half a million of livres, it would be very difficult to raise one thousand louis-d'ors even at a very high interest.

Upon these general considerations of the deplorable situation of the country, and the yet more melancholy prospect with which it is menaced, it is impossible to found a hope of ameliorating its condition but by the union of the Allies, the occupation of France by their troops, and their precautionary measures not only against the attempts of the *Red Jacobins*, but also against the machinations of the *White Jacobins*, who under the mask of religious fanaticism, resuscitated in Europe since the restoration of the different branches of the house of Bourbon, have committed within these six months in the south, horrors and cruelties to which the whole course of the French revolution scarcely offers a parallel. If unfortunately the allied powers should not remain united for a great length of time, if the collision of their interests should divide them, we must infallibly behold unhappy France again a prey to those revolutionary convulsions by which she has been torn for five and twenty years ; and in this case the Bourbons would be inevitably forced to descend a third time from their throne. Such, at least, is the opinion of a great statesman (Lord Castlereagh) who wrote to the Emperor Alex-

and, as from Lewis alone they could expect the fulfilment of these hard conditions, and the submission to those humiliations which they had deemed it right to demand of France, they were no sooner in possession of the capital, and felt that the expression of their will could meet with no effectual resistance, than they threw off the mask, and declared that they were pledged to restore Lewis XVIII.

Had the French been permitted to elect their own prince, Napoleon II would not have continued to reign. He would not only not have been upheld in opposition to the Allies, but the people of France would eagerly have renounced

ander on the 8th of August last, that 'the re-establishment of the Bourbons, such as it then was, could not be considered as the terms of the revolutionary state, and that the duration of their reign depended upon the presence of the allied armies in the heart of France.'

Experience has also shewn, and more than once, that the cause of the Bourbons could not prevail unless supported by foreign bayonets; that it has been always vanquished when it has entered the lists alone, and that too without the least necessity of opposing the smallest resistance, and without a single individual perishing in their cause or against it.

In fine, this cause, which cannot be always thus supported, and which for that reason must of necessity fall, by turns thrown down by the nation and raised up by foreigners, appears to menace France with a succession of bloody catastrophes which will be renewed until the ruin of this fine country shall be wholly consummated—a tragic exhibition reserved, perhaps, for our posterity.

their allegiance to him. All affection for Buonaparte was obliterated from the minds of the people. His return, accompanied as it would have been by the hostility of Europe, was more feared than the restoration of the Bourbons; and while Napoleon II ostensibly governed, there could be no security that the father would not actually hold the reins of power.

The choice would probably have fallen on the Duke of Orleans, could he have been induced to consent to the expulsion of the rest of his family. His principles would have been a sufficient guarantee that France would have been free and happy, but the pledge would have been extorted from him that he would not sacrifice the honour and integrity of France. Under his domination the Allies saw insuperable obstacles to the accomplishment of their projects. They were therefore compelled to adopt the decisive, and apparently oppressive proceeding of re-instating Lewis XVIII by force.

Agreeably to the terms of the convention, the Allied troops had been put in possession of the out-posts of the city on the day after the capitulation, and on the 6th, the barriers were delivered up, and the Allies entered the capital. The military posts were surrendered without disturbance. The English and Prussian pickets received the pass-word from the national troops as regularly as

if they were merely relieving guard, and after the opposite parties had saluted each other in all due military form, the national guard peaceably returned to their respective habitations.

Numerous regiments of the Allies now marched in, and traversed the city, in their way to the respective quarters assigned to them. Their peaceable demeanor and modest deportment made considerable impression on every well-disposed spectator. No expression of mingled ferocity and exultation, such as used to characterize the French soldier in the moment of triumph, was visible on their countenances; and notwithstanding they were repeatedly and grossly insulted by the Federates and the populace, they tranquilly pursued their march, nor was their progress marked by a single act of violence.

The Federates had apparently become reconciled to the evils which could not have been avoided. Their Emperor having been finally separated from them, the regular troops being no longer at hand to countenance and uphold their violence, and having experienced how impotent was their rage, when opposed to the cool and determined courage of the national guard, they had abandoned the contest, and retreated to their obscure abodes. But the actual occupation of the capital by foreign armies, rekindled all their fury. From every lane and alley they issued in innumerable crowds, but being now deprived of arms, they could only ex-

press their rage, by their scowling looks and vehement language.

In addition to the sprig of laurel which each soldier wore on his cap, the arm was bound with a white scarf. This admitted of two interpretations. It might be regarded as a pledge of friendship, or the symbol of adherence to the cause of the Bourbons. The Federates understood it in the most obnoxious sense, and, pursuing the march of the troops, vociferated "No Bourbons! Down with the Bourbons! The representative government for ever!" To this not a few of them added "The Emperor for ever!" The Allied soldiers endured this with matchless forbearance, but their patience must ere long have been exhausted, and some dreadful scene would have followed, had not the national guard interfered, and dispersed the infuriated and intoxicated mob.

Some of the Prussians were quartered upon the inhabitants and a few of them encamped in the Elysian fields; but the whole of the British army encamped under the walls, or on the Boulevards. The English soldiers here maintained the noble character for strict discipline and honour which they had acquired during their march to Paris. Not one act of atrocity was laid to their charge. The inhabitants of Paris traversed the camp in perfect security, and soon regarded them more as friends than as conquerors.

In the Prussian quarters and camp a different

scene was presented. The occupiers of the houses in which they were billeted, were frequently treated with the utmost brutality ; the best apartments in the house were seized ; the furniture was wantonly injured and destroyed ; the provisions of every kind were voraciously consumed, and when the wretched inhabitant was no longer able to supply their exorbitant demands, his house was completely stripped, every portable article was carried away and sold, and the Prussians sought fresh scenes of plunder elsewhere.

Where the atrocity was flagrant, the superior officers interfered and rescued the miserable inhabitants from brutal oppression, but except the case imperiously demanded their interference, it seemed to be adopted as principle, to retaliate on the French a full share of the sufferings which they had inflicted on every part of Europe.—Blucher avowed it as the rule of his conduct, to give the French a thorough experience of the horrors of war. This he affirmed was the only way to cure them of that military mania which had been the dread and the scourge of the world. His answer to many complainants was, “ Let the French remember Prussia, and learn wisdom !”

In some districts the atrocities of the Prussians became so excessive that the British General was compelled to interfere. He warmly remonstrated with Marshal Blucher on the subject, and not receiving from him any satisfactory explanation or

assurance, the Duke of Wellington wrote to the King of Prussia, complaining how much the legitimate cause in which they were engaged was disgraced by the enormities committed by his troops. This remonstrance produced some effect, and after the arrival of the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia in Paris, stricter discipline was observed among all the troops of the Allies.

Many unjust complaints were however alledged against the Prussians. A mutual and deadly hatred had long subsisted between them and the French. What an English soldier procured easily at the first request, or what was almost forced upon him by the civility and gratitude of his host, the Prussian could not obtain without threats or violence. The constant object of the French seemed to be, to tease and harass the Prussians, and the foreigners soon learned to disregard the convenience and feelings of the French, and to appropriate to themselves without remorse, whatever pleased their fancy, or the supply of their daily wants demanded*.

* A curious anecdote was related with many different versions in the Journals. The following is a correct account of the affair:

A Prussian officer expressed much desire to be quartered at the house of a lady in the Fauxbourg St. Germain. His request was complied with, and on his arrival at the lady's hotel he was shewn into a small, but comfortable apartment, with a handsome bed-chamber adjoining. He expressed the greatest dissatisfac-

While the Allied troops were taking possession of the capital, the chambers tranquilly continued their sittings, and employed themselves in the revision of the constitution. No reference was made

tion with this accommodation, and required that the Countess should give up to him the whole of the first floor, which she occupied herself, and which was most elegantly furnished. She remonstrated, but the officer was absolute, and insisted on being instantly shewn into his new apartments. The Countess had no time to remove any of the articles even of her own boudoir, and retreated to the second floor.

She had scarcely retired thither when a new message arrived from the Prussian, that he had appropriated the second floor for his aide-de-camp, and that it must be immediately prepared for his reception. This produced an earnest and angry remonstrance from the lady. She urged not only the inhumanity of the requisition, but the total impossibility of complying with it. The officer was inexorable, and furiously replied, "Obey my orders, or take the consequences:" and at the same time he sent for a file of men from the guard-house.

He now threw himself in his dirty boots on one of the handsome sofas, and ordering the cook to be summoned, commanded him to prepare an excellent dinner by an appointed hour, as he had invited several of his brother officers to dine with him, and warned the butler that the best wines which the cellar afforded must be forthcoming.

He now went out, and returned at the appointed hour alone. Dinner was served. He complained that it was execrable, and violently dashed the dishes on the floor. The wine was worse, and bottle after bottle was spilled on the beautiful carpet.

At length when he had wearied himself and the domestics with his caprice, he ordered that the lady should be summoned to attend him. She was compelled tremblingly to obey. To her astonishment he received her with respect, and addressed her in

to the near approach of the Bourbons, but one advance was made towards a reconciliation. It was moved and carried by acclamation that the bust of Napoleon should be removed from over the president's chair, and the tri-coloured flag substituted. The bust disappeared, but a simple scarf was placed in its stead.

The only disorder which occurred, was occasioned by information that a body of household troops was expected to do duty at the Thuilleries.

the following manner. "You have doubtless, Madam, been shocked at the conduct which you have witnessed since my entrance into your house. Have you not thought it disgracefully cruel and barbarous?" The lady, ignorant to what this tended, and fearing some new insult, hesitated what to reply. "I beseech you to answer me candidly," he continued, "have you not deemed me a complete savage?"—"Indeed," answered the lady, "I was not prepared to receive such treatment, and since you will compel me to speak, I do think it most disgracefully barbarous."—"Have you not a son, Madam! in Prussia?"—"I had a son there, but he has perished."—No Madam! he has not perished, and I am not the savage whom you imagine. Your son was quartered at the house of my infirm mother. During three months he inflicted on her the sufferings which you have endured in the last few hours. I swore to avenge her. I have kept my oath! No Madam! I am not the barbarian whom you think. It was with inexpressible reluctance that I schooled myself to act the part which I have done. You will resume your apartments, and I will seek a lodging elsewhere. Your son will soon be in Paris. Tell him that I meant to have required of him a strict account for the sufferings of my poor mother; but I have avenged her in a nobler way, and I cordially forgive him."

This unequivocal intimation of the speedy return of Lewis excited the utmost indignation, but the chamber soon passed to the order of the day, on the assurance that the plot was known to Massena, the commandant of the national guard, who had taken effectual measures to defeat it.

It was well known that great numbers of the national guard had expressed their determination to proceed to St. Denis, to pay their respects to the King, and it was expected that they would return accompanied by some of the household troops, and occupy the Thuilleries in the name of the King. Early in the morning many detached bodies of the national guard presented themselves at the barrier of St. Denis, to the amount of two thousand men, and demanded permission to pass. This was readily granted, but they were previously required to deposit their arms at the barrier. To this they demurred, and appeared inclined to force their way, but meeting with unexpected resistance, and finding that a numerous corps of gens-d'armes had been posted there, and were determined to dispute their passage, they deposited their arms, and proceeded to St. Denis.

Having offered their protestations of fidelity to the monarch, they were requested to return to Paris, with the assurance that they could there be of most service to the royal cause by disposing their comrades to welcome the re-establishment of the legitimate King. They returned in the

evening, but were peremptorily refused admittance by order of Massena. He had permitted those who pleased to quit Paris, and he hoped by this means to get rid of every adherent of the Bourbons, but, fearful of treachery, no one was suffered on any excuse to enter the gates.

In the evening the Duke of Otranto had an interview with the Duke of Wellington. The nature of their conference is unknown, but it is reported that Lord Wellington declared it to be the anxious wish of the Allies to respect the independence of the national choice, but that the tranquillity of Europe was a more important and sacred object; that to secure this object they should deem it their duty, if Lewis XVIII was refused, to require from France those cessions of territory as guarantees, to which the country would not submit without a protracted and bloody war; but that if Lewis XVIII was restored to his throne, they should be satisfied with guarantees which he was already disposed to give and which would not endanger the peace of France;—that if the nation persisted in refusing to receive the Bourbons, and the attempt to re-establish them would produce a considerable effusion of blood, they were willing to abandon the cause of the legitimate King, but that being now in possession of the capital, and able to over-awe and stifle without bloodshed every attempt at resistance there, and believing that the nation would peace-

ably follow the example of the metropolis; believing likewise that Lewis had perceived his error and was disposed to devote himself to the real happiness of France; and regarding the peace of Europe and the world as inseparably connected with the restoration of Lewis, they were determined to endeavour to replace him on the throne.

The Duke of Otranto complained of the breach of faith evidently committed, but acknowledged that in the present circumstances of France and Europe, the only hope of lasting peace depended on the return of the Bourbons, and since their return could alone preserve the integrity of France he freely lent himself to accomplish the object.

He then endeavoured to gain some concessions in favour of the liberties of his country. He required that Lewis should give his solemn assent to the constitution on the arrangement of which the representatives were then employed. It was answered that no middle course could be pursued. That if Lewis was restored by the Allies, he must be restored unconditionally, and fettered only by his own declarations, or by the virtuous intentions of his mind. Fouché was silenced but not convinced by this argument. He however wished to think, that on his second restoration, Lewis would avoid those fatal rocks on which the stability of his power had before been wrecked.

It was then proposed that Fouché should con-

tinue to hold under Lewis the situation which he had filled during the usurpation of Buonaparte. To this he consented after requiring the most solemn pledges that the King would religiously respect the charter which he had given the French, and steadily oppose the furious and re-actionary spirit of his family and courtiers.

The monarch has been much censured for allying himself with one of the most active ministers of Buonaparte, and who had been indefatigable in upholding the power of his master as long as it could be done without compromising the safety of France. It should however be recollected that the Bourbons did not possess the affections of the French, and that the violent manner in which their return was affected would increase the general disaffection; that it was necessary to give some guarantee to the people that the former imprudent attempts to violate the charter should not return, and this could not be better effected than by retaining as one of his ministers the man who had distinguished himself by opposing every arbitrary act of Napoleon, who was the head of the temporary, sturdy, and independent government which succeeded the fall of Napoleon, and who enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the nation. While he was an active minister of the King, the people might be assured that nothing would be attempted inconsistent with the charter or with their liberties. To this should be added that

no man was so well acquainted with the connexions and principles and views of all the different parties,—no man so well knew all the ramifications of the late conspiracy,—no man could therefore so readily point out the real friends of the government and their country, or so promptly and effectually warn the Bourbons of every danger by which they were menaced. It was therefore politic in Lewis to conquer his personal dislike, and restrain the vengeance of his courtiers with respect to a man so useful and so formidable; and that which has been represented as a proof of weakness, displayed the greatest prudence and the soundest wisdom.

At four o'clock in the morning the conference terminated, and it was determined that the provisional government should publicly declare the intentions of the Allies, and dissolve itself. Fouché doubted not that their example would be readily and peaceably followed by both the chambers, and that Lewis might on the succeeding day enter his capital without opposition.

As soon as the chambers assembled the following communication was made from the provisional government.

Mr. President,

Hitherto we believed that the intentions of the Allied sovereigns were not unanimous upon the choice of the prince who is to reign in France. Our Plenipotentiaries gave us the same assurances at their return.

However, the Ministers and Generals of the Allied Powers declared yesterday in the conferences they had with the President of the Commission, that all the Sovereigns had engaged to replace Lewis XVIII upon the throne, that he is to make his entrance into the capital this evening or to-morrow.

Foreign troops have just occupied the Thuilleries, where the Government is sitting.

In this state of affairs, we can only breathe wishes for the country; and our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate.

The Marshal Prince of Essling, and the Prefect of the Seine have been charged to watch over the maintenance of public order, safety, and tranquillity.

We have the honour, &c.

The Duke of OTRANTO.

Count GRENIER.

QUINETTE.

CARNOT.

CAULAINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.

The chamber was overwhelmed with confusion and dismay. A profound silence ensued. For some moments the members gazed on each other, and then actuated by one common feeling, they rose from their seats, and hastened from the hall.

In the chamber of Representatives the message

was differently received. A moment of silent consternation followed. M. Manuel then presented himself in the Tribune, and proposed that the Chamber should continue its sitting and await the result. "Gentlemen!" said he, "you foresaw this event, but it ought not to form any change in your conduct. One of two things will happen, either the enemy will respect your independence, and if the words of kings are not vain all hope would not be forbidden, or they will forget what they have declared and expel the national representation from this place. Let us shew that we are worthy of the confidence of our constituents. Let us remain firm at our post and leave to other hands the odious task of dispersing the representatives of France. These expressions once electrified France and Europe; let us repeat them a second time, "We were sent hither by our Constituents and nothing but bayonets shall remove us."

Bravo! Bravo! Yes! Yes! resounded from all parts of the Assembly.

Count Regnault afterwards presented himself, and spoke as follows. "You have lately placed yourselves under the safeguard of the nation. That declaration requires now to be modified. You are guarded by a handful of brave citizens, and if you are permitted, if you are ordered to die at your posts, they ought to be spared all danger. Declare that the guard placed at the

gates of your palace is only a guard of honour, and that if any armed force presents itself it shall be ordered to make no resistance." This motion was unanimously adopted. The Assembly then passed to the order of the day, and with as much coolness as if no danger menaced them, began to debate the question, whether under the new constitution which they were framing the Peerage should be hereditary, and at their usual hour of breaking up they adjourned till eight o'clock on the following morning.

As soon as it was known that the Provisional government had dissolved itself, and that the King would make his public entry on the morrow, crowds of persons, some led by interest and others by affection, hastened to St. Denis to congratulate the King on the speedy re-assumption of his power. The populace of Paris, and particularly of the suburbs, unawed by the near approach of the King, and the dread of his vengeance, and equally unterrified by the foreign bayonets which surrounded them, hastened to the gates, and insulted every one who appeared to be going to St. Denis, or returning from it. As soon as they had passed the gates, the loyal citizens mounted the white cockade, but this badge of fidelity was not suffered to appear within the walls of the metropolis. Every one who attempted to enter the gates, adorned with these ribbands, was insulted, threatened, and most violently attacked; some

received very serious injuries, and more than one were murdered.

A respectable citizen was returning in his carriage with his family. He had neglected to conceal his cockade on his approach to the city, and his daughters wore many white ribbands in their head-dress and bosoms. This excited the utmost fury of the mob. They violently tore him from his carriage. "Away with him! to the lantern, to the lantern!" was yelled by a thousand voices. He was dragged to the fatal post, and had not a strong party of the national guard most opportunely come up, he would have expiated his loyalty with his life.

These outrages were however confined to the very dregs of society. The more respectable citizens looked silently on, and awaited with anxiety the result of the morrow. Although Lewis the Desired was so soon to enter the capital of his kingdom in triumph, few countenances beamed with joy. A general gloom prevailed, and the resignation of weakness and despair. Nothing so evidently spoke the general feelings as the evident fact, that on the eve of the complete triumph of royalty, the cry of "The King for ever!" was heard from comparatively few voices, and was immediately drowned by the vociferations of "No Bourbons, Down with the Bourbons! The Nation for ever!"

In the evening the following order was issued by the new commander of the national guard :

“ To the chief of the eleventh legion.

Sir,—I inform you that the king's intention is that the illegal assemblies formed in his absence should no longer meet. His majesty charges you in consequence with the command of the palace of the Luxembourg. You will place at day-light posts there, and take every measure necessary to prevent assemblages.—(Signed) Count Desselles.”

Early in the morning of the 8th, the representatives began to assemble at the doors of the hall. Every avenue was occupied by pickets of the national guard, who mildly but firmly refused all admittance. Some of the members, more indignant than the rest, remonstrated with the soldiers. They reminded them that the protection of the assembly had been especially committed to the national guard of Paris, whom they now little expected to find the willing instruments of their dispersion. One of the guard replied that “ the only question which he had to consider was how he might promptly obey the commands of his superior officer ; that officer had ordered him to suffer no one to pass ; and if the gentlemen were dissatisfied, they must make their complaint at the head-quarters.”

A crowd now began to collect around the doors of the hall, and such is the strange levity and fickleness of the French character, the persons

who had vociferated on the preceding day "The Representatives for ever!" undismayed by Prussian or English bayonets, now amused themselves with the surprise and mortification which the deputies expressed as they arrived in succession at the doors of the hall. Each one was saluted with a shout on his approach, and with a peal of laughter on his departure, if his countenance betrayed the least chagrin or displeasure.

Although the deputies had neither the power nor inclination to resist the arbitrary mandate by which the doors of their hall were closed upon them, they had too much spirit and patriotism to separate without solemnly protesting against the injustice of the proceeding. More than a hundred members repaired to the house of Lanjuinais, and drew up the following declaration:—

"In the sittings of yesterday, the chamber of representatives passed to the order of the day on the message by which the provisional committee gave notice that it had ceased its functions. It afterwards continued its deliberations on the constitution which it had pledged itself to frame, and when its sittings were suspended, adjourned to this day the eighth of July at eight o'clock in the morning.

In consequence of this adjournment the members of the chamber of representatives repaired to the usual place of their meeting. But the

gates of the palace being closed, the avenues being guarded by a military force, and the officers who commanded it having declared that they received a peremptory order not to grant admittance to any of the members; the undersigned members of the chamber have assembled at the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, and there they have formed, and signed individually, the present proces-verbal to authenticate the above facts."

8th July, 1815. Signed, &c.

In this affair the chamber had no real cause for complaint, and perhaps they pushed their patriotism too far, in persisting to assemble after the provisional government had dissolved itself, the peers had separated, and it was evident that no resistance could be offered to the restoration of the Bourbons. It was compelling the monarch to resort to an ungracious proceeding, for it was unquestionable that when he again became king, *de facto*, he could not consent to the existence of an assembly convened by the usurper, and which had distinguished itself by such spirited opposition to the return of the legitimate sovereign. No right would have been compromised by a silent submission to irresistible necessity; no advantage could be gained by this act of obstinate defiance. In justice to Lewis it must be added, that he adopted the least objectionable method of dissolving them. It was less offensive to close the

door against their assembling, than to send a file of soldiers among them with orders forcibly to disperse them.

No sooner was the chamber dispersed than the tri-coloured flag was torn from the towers of Paris, and replaced by the white standard of the Bourbons. The barriers were thrown open, and it was announced that the king would make his entry in the afternoon.

Paris instantly poured out all its immense population. Every one who possessed the meanest carriage hastened to St. Denis to behold and to swell the procession, while innumerable crowds of pedestrians filled every street from the Tuilleries to the barriers of St. Denis and thence to La Chapelle; and almost to St. Denis the road was literally thronged with them almost to suffocation. No troops had been appointed to clear the way or to preserve order, yet no tumult occurred, and the only inconvenience which happened was the apparent impossibility for the royal procession to pass.

At two o'clock it was announced that the king approached. Instantly the populace, who before appeared to be wedged almost without the power of moving, opened to the right and left, and made a narrow but sufficient passage. First appeared the national guards of Paris, to the number of fourteen thousand; after them came the household troops, who had accompanied the king

in his retreat, or who had gradually collected during his abode at Ghent. Next came the monarch attended by his ministers, and by the Count d'Artois and the Duke de Berry; a regiment of officers followed, who had remained firm to the royal cause amidst the disaffection of the army. Each wore his proper uniform as colonel, major, captain, or subaltern, but each likewise had his musket on his shoulder, and his knapsack at his back like a private soldier. The procession was closed by a long train of coaches, chariots, cabriolets, and carts of every description, which successively fell into the ranks, and the last of which did not enter Paris until nearly six o'clock.

When the monarch arrived at the barrier, the prefect and the whole of the municipal body appeared to receive him. The prefect addressed to him an harangue, a few extracts from which are inserted as forming a curious contrast with the ardent expressions of attachment and fidelity with which the same body, if not the same orator, welcomed Napoleon on his arrival at Paris three short months before, and which were afterwards lavished upon him in repeated addresses.

“ Sire !

One hundred days have passed away since your Majesty, forced to tear yourself from our dearest affections, left your capital amidst tears and public consternation. In vain did the municipal body of your good city of Paris raise the

unanimous cry of faithful subjects. They announced to all Frenchmen the imminent evils with which they were menaced. But there are moments in which Heaven does not permit the voice of magistrates to be heard. It was not in their power to prevent an error too fatal. The phrensy of the passions, the destructive disturbance of public tranquillity, the interruption of commerce and industry, civil war and foreign invasion, have at once afflicted your people. Heaven, Sire! is overcharged with vengeance, and restores you only to pardon us. Your Majesty interposes between Europe and your people, to give them peace, and to reconcile them anew to all nations. Your Majesty will hasten to gather together and re-unite the dispersed elements of the political body. The passions are now calmed in all generous hearts, reason is heard, and love of our country and our King will complete the rest. A period of twenty-five years, marked by so many vicissitudes, and like all epochs of history by glory and reverses, cannot be preferred to the recollection of eight centuries which have revolved under the sceptre of our kings, counted by long intervals of prosperity, and by the moderation and the bounty of the sovereigns of your august dynasty.

Frenchmen, in every part of the kingdom, if the example of the capital, which has always

been of such great weight, can still guide you, you will see it on the day which has followed these storms, calm amidst the numerous efforts which have been made to agitate it, forgetting all discords, abjuring the spirit of party, and hastening around a king, who, as a first pledge of his return, has proclaimed new guarantees for your happiness, and the establishment of institutions calculated to secure a wise liberty and the welfare of France. Let us protest to him, according to the wish of his heart, that the passions are about to be tranquillized, that the children of the great family are about to unite to approach him, and will henceforth only have one rallying cry."—

The monarch shortly replied, "In removing from Paris I experienced the greatest sorrow and regret. Testimonies of the fidelity of my good city of Paris reached me. I return with emotion. I foresaw the misfortunes with which it was threatened; it is my wish to prevent and repair them."

The procession again moved on. The royal carriage was now surrounded by the municipal body of Paris, and by the marshals of the empire. As it slowly proceeded handkerchiefs were waved from every window, and acclamations resounded from every voice. It was five o'clock before the procession reached the Thuilleries, which the mon-

arch entered amidst as universal and enthusiastic shouts as marked the entrance of the usurper one hundred days before.

During the whole of the evening the garden of the Thuilleries was thronged and the acclamations were incessant. Groups of dancers occupied every walk and every lawn, and nimbly tripping it to the tune of some itinerant musician, or to the hum of their own voices, expressed their joy in a manner perfectly characteristic of the French. In the evening the King came down into the garden, but the populace so violently thronged around him, and expressed their joy in so frantic a way, that he was glad to retreat again into the palace. He then appeared in one of the balconies, and gratified them with the sight of him for more than half an hour. At night the city was illuminated, and the inhabitants seemed to vie with each other in the variety and brilliancy of the devices.

Is this account of their ardent loyalty and irrepressible enthusiasm, consistent with the narration which has been given in a former volume of rapturous expressions of attachment to Napoleon at the Champ de Mai; or can it be reconciled with the execrations with which the Bourbons were loaded on the preceding evening, and the indignation which the appearance of a white cockade at the barriers caused in no inconsiderable proportion of the population of the city? In no other city

but Paris, among no other people but Frenchmen could these strangely contradictory scenes occur; but to him who is acquainted with the character of the people, and versed in the history of the revolution, these circumstances will occasion no surprise.

It has since too plainly appeared that this apparent enthusiasm afforded no proof of the affection of the French, nor even of the sincerity of the Parisians. Many of those who were active in this scene of extravagance sincerely welcomed the return of the Bourbons, from honest attachment to the cause of royalty and legitimacy, and from unfeigned respect for the benevolent and virtuous character of the sovereign; others welcomed the Bourbons as a security from the excesses of the foreign troops, two days experience of which had almost driven them to despair, they trusted that the property and lives of his subjects would not be outraged in the very presence of the sovereign;—many more were indifferent to the form of government and the reigning prince, but in present circumstances, peace with Europe, and deliverance from foreign invasion seemed intimately and inseparably connected with the return of the legitimacy: and a very great proportion wished to palliate their former opposition, and to ingratiate themselves with the family which they could no longer resist, by the expression of sentiments to which their hearts were strangers. The

hypocritical enthusiasm of these wretches was violent in proportion to the punishment which they dreaded, or the hatred which they felt. To these may be added another class of persons, not less numerous than either of the former, who with true Parisian feelings saw in the entrance of the monarch only an amusing spectacle, into the spirit of which they fully entered, and which gave them a day of recreation and pleasure, as the former entrance of the Allied monarchs, the entrance of Lewis, the return of Napoleon, and the ceremony of the Champ de Mai had done before. The loyalty of the Parisians was not however unanimous in its expression. Even amidst the crowd in the gardens of the Thuilleries, some cries were occasionally heard, which could not be pleasing to its inhabitants; and on the quays and bridges many groups assembled, whose shouts of "The Emperor for ever! No Bourbons!" not even the interference of the national guard, and the foreign troops could repress without the greatest difficulty.

On the succeeding day the King officially announced his ministers. The Prince de Talleyrand was appointed president of the council, and secretary for foreign affairs; Marshal St. Cyr, minister of war; Baron Louis, minister of finance; the Duke of Otranto, minister of police; the Duke de Richelieu, minister for the department of the King's household; Baron Pasquier, minister of

justice ; and Count de Jaucour, minister of marine.

The talents of Fouché, Talleyrand, and Richelieu were universally acknowledged ; the others were little known. The object of the King was to include the leading men of all parties, and thus inspire universal confidence. In this he would have succeeded had it not soon appeared that the councils of the moderate and liberal part of the ministry were uniformly thwarted by the violence of their associates and the secret machinations of the court, and that it was impossible for such discordant materials as the regicide Fouché, the revolutionary Talleyrand, and the despotic and vindictive princes, ever to amalgamate. Suspicion and fear usurped then the place of confidence and hope.

Lewis was thus reseated on the throne of his ancestors. But was he surely seated there ? It is undeniable that he was restored, not by the affection of his subjects, but by the bayonets of foreigners. Notwithstanding the display of unbounded enthusiasm and joy which has just been described, it was too evident that the majority of the nation harboured many pre-posessions against him. The latter period of his former government had been marked by such general inquietude and disaffection, that, had not Napoleon escaped from Elba, the throne of the Bourbons could not have been upheld another twelvemonth.

These inquietudes and this disaffection were not allayed, they were on the contrary much increased by the company in which the monarch returned, and the leaning towards the old system which his public declarations unfortunately betrayed.

Was he then, or could he be securely seated on his throne? This altogether depended upon himself.

Notwithstanding the errors of his government, he was personally respected. Had he been permitted to follow the dictates of his own heart, or had he possessed sufficient resolution to judge and act for himself in opposition to the entreaties and even the menaces of his family, he would soon have been popular in France, and might have established his throne on so sure a basis as to defy the attack of every foreign or domestic foe.

The people were tired of the changes of the revolution, yet resolved not to lose all its benefits. Their military mania, which before constituted his greatest danger, was subdued, or destroyed. The people wished for peace, moderate freedom, and an assurance that no retrospective scheme of vengeance should endanger their possessions or their lives.

The unbiassed inclination of the King would lead him to adopt a system, that would have

given all the assurance required, and he then would have reigned beloved and idolized by his subjects.

He undoubtedly returned under the most unfortunate circumstances. He was forced on the people by foreigners ; the blood of the French had too liberally flowed in the contest ; and as the price of his restoration, he was obliged to lay many heavy burdens on his people, and to subscribe to conditions humiliating to the glory of France. Yet had he on his return dismissed all those whose evil counsels had before seduced him ; had he principally removed from his intimate confidence those of his own family of whom the nation was most suspicious ; had he adopted the charter, and followed with good faith all its principles ; had he published an universal amnesty, and solemnly declared that neither the persons nor the property of any of his subjects should be endangered on account of their former political opinions, or conduct, they would have submitted to the sacrifices which the Allies demanded, and rallied round the throne of the constitutional monarch.

Whether the King of France has acted this wise and patriotic part, or, by again listening to the absurd counsels of the vindictive and the bigotted, has once more endangered his throne, prepared for the renewal of the most dreadful calamities,

and perhaps sealed the ruin of his country, the author does not now inquire. This may possibly form the subject of a future work.

Lewis might have been, and still may be powerful, beloved, and happy. May he be wise ere it is too late to retrieve his errors !

CHAP. VIII.

Operations of the Bavarian, Austrian, and Russian Armies.

WHILE the English and Prussians were availing themselves of all the advantages which resulted from the decisive affair of Waterloo, and rapidly marching on Paris, the other troops of the Allies were advancing in various directions. The Bavarians forming the advanced corps of the Russian army and the Austrian army of the Rhine, passed that river at Mannheim on the 19th of June, and on the 24th had reached the Saare without opposition.

At Sarreguemines they found some resistance. The place was carried by storm ; the French were so closely pursued that they had not time to destroy the bridge, and the Bavarians crossed the Saare with trifling loss. On the 25th Prince Wrede, who commanded this advanced corps, advanced to Chateau-Salines, and on the 26th arrived in the neighbourhood of Nancy.

A deputation from the city here met him, consisting of the municipality and officers of the na-

W
AA
W
AA
W

tional guard, who professed the good disposition of the inhabitants, and offered the keys of the place. The Bavarians entered amidst the shouts of "The Bourbons for ever!" On the 27th he secured the passages of the Upper Moselle and the Meurthe, and on the 28th had his head-quarters still at Nancy. On the 29th a detachment of his army fell in with a body of French between Metz and Longvion, consisting of three thousand infantry with cuirassiers and artillery, and after a desperate encounter drove them into Metz.

The commanders of Toul and Maresall having refused to surrender, Prince Wrede took measures to invest them. This delayed his progress, and many free corps having assembled in his rear and attacked his baggage with success, he was compelled to disperse them before he penetrated further into the country. It was therefore the 2d of July before he was able to push his advanced guard to Châlons. A brilliant affair took place here. One hundred cavalry who had been despatched to reconnoitre, surprised the guard at the gate of Châlons and charged into the town. The alarm was instantly given, the garrison ran to arms, the gate was shut, and their retreat cut off. The Bavarians then dashed on, overthrew all opposition, and effected their escape at the Paris-gate at the other extremity of the town with inconsiderable loss.

The commanding-officer of the advanced guard

seeing that his detachment was thus committed, dismounted some Bavarian light horse, brought up some cannon, and soon battered down the gates. The whole of his corps then entered at full speed, cleared the streets, dispersed the garrison, and captured the town. Six hundred prisoners and six pieces of cannon were taken.

Another corps under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg and General Walmoden crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg on the 24th, and proceeded to Bergzabern where they met with some opposition. Then blockading Landau, they passed the Queich on the 25th without much resistance, and on the 26th advanced between Selz and Surbourg, where they were vigorously opposed by the enemy. The Prince had advanced as far as the heights which conceal the village of Surbourg, and was considerably separated from his main body, when the enemy suddenly appeared and commenced a violent attack. The advanced guard of the Prince was taken by surprise, and retreated before the French with considerable loss, until they fell in with the main body of their infantry. A sanguinary contest now ensued. The French were driven to the banks of the Sur, where they rallied and maintained themselves till night, when, under protection of the darkness, they effected their passage and destroyed the bridge. The Prince Royal did not think it prudent to pursue the enemy that

night, but established himself with General Walmoden on the banks of the Sur.

On the 27th he continued his march, and again fell in with the French between Haguenau and Brumath, under the command of General Rapp, amounting to about eleven thousand men. The French were once more repulsed with considerable loss, and some brilliant charges of cavalry took place. The Prince briskly pursued the retreating enemy, and overtook him again at Vendenheim on the 28th. Rapp occupied an advantageous position with his left on the villages and heights of Lambertheim and Mundenheim, and his right supported by the Rhine, with a rivulet in front which was fordable only at two points and by a bridge over the high road.

At these fords the Prince directed his principal attack, and the French made an obstinate defence, and kept up a most destructive fire of musketry and artillery; but the bravery of the Wirtembergers and Austrians, and the superiority of numbers soon prevailed. The fords were carried at the point of the bayonet; the cavalry crossed the bridge at full speed, and bore down all before them. Five pieces of cannon were taken, some hundred prisoners, and the French sought protection under the walls of Strasbourg, the guns of which fortress saved them from absolute destruction. The Prince Royal then proceeded to invest and blockade Strasbourg, in which ope-

ration he was employed at the capitulation of Paris.

An Austrian army under the Archduke Ferdinand threw some pontoon bridges over the Rhine at Grenzach, which he crossed on the night of the 25th and 26th. Basle was immediately occupied, and advanced guards were pushed forward to Altkirch and Parentrai. On the 27th he had a sharp action with the French General Lacourbe, in investing the little fortress of Neubreisach. The village of Wickelsheim was strongly occupied by the French, but the Austrians bringing up an overwhelming superiority of numbers, Lacourbe was driven from his position with immense slaughter.

He however rallied, and on the following day halted at a strong position between Donnemarie and Belfort. The nature of the ground enabled him to make an obstinate defence, and he kept the Austrians in check during the greater part of the day; but his troops being at length worn out with fatigue, and his opponents having received considerable reinforcements, he retreated with the loss of some pieces of cannon, and more than one thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

From this place the Archduke pushed on to Remiremont, to maintain his communication with the Bavarians and Russians, and to operate on the flank and rear of Lacourbe. On the 29th

he carried a strong fortified position near Montbeillard, but the enemy with great intrepidity retook it in the evening, and maintained possession of it during the night. The Austrians being strongly reinforced again advanced to the attack on the following morning, and after a dreadful slaughter, succeeded in finally dislodging the French and occupying the position.

On the 1st of July Chevremont and Besencourt were carried by storm, and the French were driven from the heights of Beaumont which they had strongly fortified.

On the 2d, the town and citadel of Montbeillard were taken by assault. Several guns and a considerable quantity of stores were found in the place, and the number of prisoners was very great. The army of Lacourbe had been reduced to four thousand men by these sanguinary encounters, yet he still continued to make head against the invaders.

On the 3d, at the period of the capitulation of Paris, the Austrians were on the road to Langres and Chaumont.

Another Austrian corps under General Frimont crossed the Arve near Geneva on the 28th, and attacked Carouge. The French were unable to resist the overwhelming force which poured upon them, and demanded an armistice for twenty-four hours, in which time they evacuated the valley of

the Arve, which could not have been carried without immense loss. Geneva was occupied on the same day, and the French driven from the heights of Savonen. This corps afterwards advanced towards Paris, by way of Châlons.

Another army under Count Bubna, released from the war with Murat, passed Mount Cenis on the 28th. The French occupied the *tête-du-pont* of Arly, near Conflans, with about three thousand men. While the Piedmontese occupied the attention of the enemy on the right, the Austrians attacked the position in front, and attempted to carry it by assault. The contest was long and bloody. The assailants were often driven back with loss, and as often returned to the charge with increased fury, and at length they succeeded in carrying the position, but not until more than half the garrison was destroyed, and the Austrians had lost nearly two thousand men. While these formidable armies were advancing from so many points, and directing themselves on one common centre, the capital of France, the Allied sovereigns followed with another numerous corps. On the 27th of June they crossed the Rhine at Spires, and had their head-quarters at Rheinzabern on the 28th, at Weissenburgh on the 29th, at Haguenau on the 30th, at Saveren on July 1st, at Saarebourg on the 2d, and at Hall on the 3d.

The total amount of these armies was eight hundred thousand men, against whom the French could have opposed no effectual resistance, unless the first successes of the campaign had dissolved the coalition, as Napoleon confidently asserted they would have done.

On the very day on which Paris capitulated to the Allies, Bonaparte arrived at Rochefort to embark for America. Two frigates had been

The following letters were intercepted from Lucien and Cardinal Fesch, and show that it was the intention of the whole family to accompany him to America. To the Princess Borghese. You must have learned, my dear Pauline, the new misfortune of the Emperor who has just abdicated in favour of his son. He is about to depart for the United States of America where we are to join him. He is full of courage and calmness. I shall endeavour to join my family at Rome in order to conduct it to America. If your health permit we shall see you there. Adieu, my dear sister. Our mother, Joseph, Jerome, and myself embrace you. Your affectionate brother,

LUCIEN

P. S. I have retired to your fine estate of Neuilly.

CHAP. IX.

Arrival of Buonaparte at Rochefort.—His Irresolution.—Attempts at Escape.—Surrender to the British.—His Conduct on board the Bellerophon.—Interesting Conversation.—The Question of his final Destination examined.—Determination of Ministers to send him to St. Helena.—His Conduct on receiving the Intelligence.—Protest against the Measure.—Another interesting Conversation.—His Departure from Torbay, and Arrival at St. Helena.

ON the very day on which Paris capitulated to the Allies, Buonaparte arrived at Rochefort to embark for America*. Two frigates had been

* The following letters were intercepted from Lucien and Cardinal Fesch, and shew that it was the intention of the whole family to accompany him to America.

To the Princess Borghese.

You must have learned, my dear Pauline, the new misfortune of the Emperor who has just abdicated in favour of his son. He is about to depart for the United States of America where we are to rejoin him. He is full of courage and calmness. I shall endeavour to rejoin my family at Rome, in order to conduct it to America. If your health permit we shall see you there. Adieu, my dear sister. Our mother, Joseph, Jerome, and myself, embrace you.

Your affectionate brother,

Neuilly, June 25.

LUCIEN.

P. S. I have retired to your fine estate of Neuilly.

stationed here by the provisional government to receive him and his suite, and had he lost no time he might have effected his escape without difficulty. But, fortunately for the repose of Europe, he lingered at Rochefort, deluded by the vain and groundless hope that he might be recalled by the affection of his army, or the dangers of the government.

From the 3d to the 10th, he resided in the house of the prefect, apparently busily employed in preparations for his departure. Waggon daily arrived from his palaces laden with valuable articles, and he even demanded and obtained from many of the public establishments whatever he chose to consider as useful on his voyage, or necessary for his comfortable establishment at the place of his future residence.

From Cardinal Fesch to the Same.

Lucien set off yesterday for London, in order to get passports for the rest of the family. Joseph and also Jerome will wait for their passports. Lucien has left here his second daughter who is just arrived from England. She will set off again in a few days. I foresee that the United States will be the end of the chase. I think you ought to remain in Italy, but recollect that character is one of the inestimable gifts of the Creator, with which he has enriched your family. Exercise courage then and strength of mind to rise superior to misfortune. Let not economy appear a sacrifice. At this moment we are all poor. Your mother and brothers embrace you.

Your affectionate uncle,

Paris, June 28.

FESCH.

The prefect and the general who was charged by the government to see him embark daily urged the necessity of his speedy departure, and boats were ready every tide to convey him to the ships ; but his irresolution could not be overcome. He was a prey to constant anxiety and embarrassment. Sometimes he resolved to return to Paris, and make a forcible appeal to the fidelity of his troops ;—then he addressed the government requesting a superior or even a subordinate command in the army ;—presently he issued orders to embark, but in a few minutes countermanded them under the pretext that all his baggage was not arrived. Thus day after day passed on until the British cruisers, informed of the important personage which Rochefort contained, closely blockaded the port, and rendered his escape impossible.

All intentions of embarking were now relinquished, but he remained at Rochefort, undetermined what course to pursue, and awaiting intelligence from his friends at Paris. On the 10th that intelligence arrived, and filled him with dismay. Paris had surrendered to the Allies, the provisional government was dissolved, and the King was daily expected in his capital. He now regretted the golden opportunity which he had lost, and abandoned himself to despair. A strange and insurmountable somnolency stole upon him, and he was incapable of all bodily or mental exertion.

With the utmost difficulty the faithful Bertrand roused him to a consideration of the danger which pressed upon him, and when his recollection returned, a thousand schemes presented themselves to his mind, or were suggested by his friends, which were abandoned as soon as proposed. At length he resolved to fortify the little island of Aix, and defend himself there to the last extremity. He embarked on board the frigates, and proceeded to the island. Having landed the marines, and as many of the crew as he could prevail on to espouse his cause, he reviewed his little army, diligently inspected the fortifications, and immediately ordered and commenced some repairs in them, but ere the close of the following day he was convinced of the absurdity of this scheme, and abandoned it. A few seventy-four gun ships would soon have demolished all the fortifications of Aix, or the blockade of a few weeks would have starved him into submission.

He now contrived to communicate with a Danish vessel, and prepared to endeavour to escape to her in two half-decked boats which he had purchased at Rochelle, but this scheme was likewise abandoned as too dangerous, if not utterly impracticable.

He next resolved to make the attempt in a small French vessel with which he hoped to escape the vigilance of the cruisers under favour of the night. Eight officers dressed as common sailors were to form his crew, and he was to as-

sume a disguise, through which he imagined that it would be impossible to recognise him. The vessel was purchased, and hastily equipped, and the disguises were all ready, when the hearts of Bertrand and his wife failed them. They burst into tears, and throwing themselves at the feet of Buonaparte besought him not to attempt so hazardous an enterprize. A council was immediately summoned, and it being the unanimous opinion of the officers that the scheme was nearly hopeless, it was reluctantly abandoned.

Every chance of escape was now cut off, when Buonaparte suggested the ridiculous expedient of sending a flag of truce to the commander of the British squadron, requesting permission to pass, and giving his word of honour that he would proceed to America. To this an unqualified denial was instantly returned, and Captain Maitland, the British commander, added, that he would attack the French squadron the moment it left the harbour.

The case of the Ex-Emperor was now desperate. Lewis was reinstated on his throne; the white flag was ordered to be hoisted at Rochefort, and it was matter of surprise to all, and particularly to Buonaparte, that instructions were not immediately sent to arrest him. If he lingered another day, or perhaps another hour, the fatal summons might arrive, and at the hands of the French court he could expect no mercy.

He now resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and throw himself on the generosity of the British nation. Two of his officers were therefore again despatched to Captain Maitland, proposing the surrender of Buonaparte, on condition that his person and property should be sacred, and that on his arrival in England he should be permitted to retire wherever he pleased. To this the captain very properly answered, that he had no authority to grant him terms of any kind, and that all he could do would be to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such way as the Prince Regent might deem expedient.

This reply was far from pleasing to Buonaparte, but as he had no alternative, except to expose himself and the crews of the frigates to certain destruction by attempting to force a passage, he was compelled to submit, and relying on the honour of the Captain, and the generosity of the British people, he embarked on board a flag of truce, and proceeded to the *Bellerophon*. As soon as he had finally determined what course to pursue, his spirits and courage returned. He superintended in person the embarkation of his baggage, and cheerfully stepped into the vessel which was to convey him to the British man-of-war.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the 15th he reached the *Bellerophon*, and ascending the quarter-deck, advanced to Captain Maitland, and, in a firm tone of voice, and with much dig-

nity of manner, thus addressed him, "I am come to claim the protection of your prince, and your laws." Captain Maitland received him with all the respect due to his former rank. He had no orders to the contrary, and the characteristic generosity of a British sailor would not permit him to wound the feelings of an unfortunate and fallen man by any act of discourtesy.

The suite of Buonaparte consisted of Count Bertrand, formerly grand marshal of the palace, the Countess Bertrand, and three children; the Duke of Rovigo (Savary); General Lallemand; Baron Gourguard, formerly aide-de-camp to Napoleon; Count Montholon Semonville, who was likewise aide-de-camp to the Emperor, the Countess Montholon Semonville, and a child; Count Las Cases, counsellor of state, and his son; several other officers, and forty domestics.

The Bellerophon immediately weighed anchor and sailed for England, but being detained by contrary winds did not arrive at Torbay until the 24th. Despatches were immediately forwarded to government, requiring instructions with regard to the disposal and treatment of the important prisoner.

The following letter, written by Buonaparte himself to the Prince Regent, and claiming his protection, was enclosed:

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,
Exposed to the factions which divide my

country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself on the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the safeguard of their laws, and claim the protection of your Royal Highness, the most powerful, the most constant, the most generous of my enemies.

NAPOLEON*.”

Rochefort, 13th July.

* The reader is here presented with the original French of this curious document:—

“ALTESSE ROYALE,

En butte aux factions que divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitié des plus grandes puissances de l'Europe, j'ai terminé ma carrière politique, et je viens, comme Themistocle, m'asseoir sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses lois, qui je reclame de V. A. R. comme le plus puissant, le plus constant, et le plus genereux de mes ennemis.

NAPOLEON.”

His allusion to the illustrious Athenian has been justly censured as puerile and absurd. There is little similarity between the surrender of Themistocles and that of Buonaparte. The former had been the saviour of his country, and had made her mistress of Greece. In the very zenith of her prosperity she became ungrateful to her benefactor, and doomed him to perpetual banishment. Having sought in vain a safe retreat among the Grecian republics, and in the harbours of Thrace, he threw himself on the generosity of a monarch whose fleets he had defeated, and whose father he had destroyed.

Buonaparte had once made his country the mistress of Europe, but while she maintained her high estate her gratitude knew no bounds. She unreluctantly surrendered to him her liberties, her treasure, and the blood of her children. It was when he had be-

While the British government was deliberating on the measures to be adopted in these unexpected and delicate circumstances, Buonaparte yielded to the vain hope that he should be per-

come the destroyer of his country, when he had laid her prostrate before the bayonets of foreigners, that she was compelled to chase him from her soil as the bane of her prosperity and her peace.—Themistocles sought refuge with a monarch whom he had humbled, and over whom he had uniformly triumphed; Buonaparte fled to a people by whom he had been repeatedly vanquished, whose glory he had contributed to exalt, and who had lately borne the principal share in hurling him from the throne of power.—Themistocles shewed much courage in surrendering himself to an arbitrary monarch, whose pride he had so severely humbled, and whose revenge he had cause to dread; Buonaparte, vanquished and powerless, had no outrage to fear from those whose glory was so intimately connected with their opposition to him, and whose proudest characteristic it was to spare the fallen foe.

There was however a similarity between Themistocles and Buonaparte of which he probably was not aware himself, and which is not a little curious. Themistocles has been described by Plutarch as ambitious of glory and enterprize.—No one will deny that ambition and the love of enterprize have been the leading traits in the character of Buonaparte. It is said of Themistocles that in the midst of adversity he possessed resources which could enable him to regain his splendour, and even to command fortune.—In the rapidity with which Buonaparte recovered from the losses of the Russian campaign; in the struggle which he maintained with all the powers of Europe, even in the very heart of France, at the close of which, had it not been for his infamous duplicity, he would have been recognised Emperor of France, and would have ruled over an extent of territory of which even Lewis XIV could not boast; and in the rapidity with which he overthrew the Bourbons, and resumed the sceptre that had been

mitted to reside in England, under some strict, but not oppressive and disgraceful *surveillance*. Buoyed up by this expectation he was cheerful and affable, and soon ingratiated himself with every person on board. Much of his time was spent in his cabin alone, where he employed himself in writing and reading. The English newspapers were eagerly read by him, and those especially which were most distinguished for their

wrested from his gripe, we behold the full display “of resources which could even command fortune.” The ambition of Themistocles was directed to the aggrandisement of his country; and surely it cannot be denied that the grand wish of the heart of Buonaparte was to make France the mistress of the world, and to contribute to her internal embellishment, while he established her external power. In the accomplishment of these objects both were equally careless of the justice or honesty of the means. The total disregard of Buonaparte for all the precepts of morality needs no proof. Themistocles, fearing that the advance of the Persian monarch might prove irresistible, sent an agent to his camp, secretly to intimate that Themistocles was anxious for his safety and advised him to retreat ere it was too late. The Persian halted in his career, his project was blasted, and Greece was saved. When he was unable otherwise to mould the people to his will, he impiously tampered with the ministers of religion, and dictated the oracles and auguries that he wished; and, to close his list of crimes, he secretly counselled the Athenians to burn the fleet of their Allies, then peaceably anchored in the Piræus, and thus render Athens mistress of the seas.

In other respects the coincidence is curious. Both were born of obscure parents; both shunned the society of their youthful companions, and both have been sacrificed to the suspicions and apprehensions of the enemies of their country.

virulence against him, and which, through motives of delicacy, were at first kept from his sight. He often appeared on the quarter deck, and gratified the curiosity of innumerable spectators, who from the rising to the setting sun surrounded the ship anxious to gaze upon the man with whose fame the world had rung.

His suite treated him with the most profound respect. They never approached him or entered into conversation with *him* but at his invitation; but he familiarly and eagerly conversed with the officers of the *Bellerophon*, and even with the *private* sailors and marines. On every political subject he expressed his opinion freely, and apparently without reserve.

He declared that he would sooner have perished than have delivered himself up to Russia, Austria, or Prussia. The sovereigns of these countries were despotic, and might have violated with impunity all justice and good faith by his imprisonment or death: but by surrendering to the British nation, he threw himself on the generosity of every individual. He professed his intention of adopting the English customs and manners, and expressed his solemn resolution never again to meddle with politics. He affirmed that had not *this* been long his determination he should not have been on board the *Bellerophon*; that he was earnestly entreated by the army which had retired behind the Loire, to join them and resume his

title ; and with their aid, and the indignation which the conduct of the Allies had excited in France, he would have been able to have maintained a harassing war during many years, but, added he, “ I have sworn that not another drop of blood shall be shed on my account.”

On being asked why he objected to surrender himself to Austria, where he might have been safe under the protection of his father-in-law.—“ What !” replied he, “ give myself up to a nation without laws, honour, or faith ! No : the moment I had got there I should have been shut up in a dungeon, and never heard of more. In surrendering to the English I have given myself up to a nation with honourable and just laws, which afford protection to all persons.” He spoke of the affair of Waterloo, and said that he did not expect that the Duke of Wellington would have given him battle, but that he would have retreated, and waited the arrival of the Prussians, “ in which case,” added he, “ I must certainly have been beaten ; I was therefore delighted, when, on the morning of the 18th I saw the British retain their position on the opposite heights, and I acknowledge that I felt myself certain of obtaining the victory. Never was battle so severely contested as that of Waterloo. I knew and felt, and my troops joined in the sentiment, that the fate of the campaign depended on the issue of that day. My troops did their duty ; they

never fought better ; and to the present moment I reflect with astonishment on the firmness with which the British received and repulsed their charges."

He was asked why he obstinately continued the engagement after he knew of the arrival of the Prussians, or whether he believed that they were advancing upon him at that critical moment. He answered that " he was perfectly aware of it, but did not regard it as an affair of much consequence, for he was certain that they must be closely pursued by Grouchy ; but he was betrayed by some of his Generals, and he had no chance against the bravery of the best troops in the world, and the treachery of those in whom he most confided."

Being asked how he accounted for the strange and unparalleled route of his army, he answered, that treason " had there been busy ;—that the consternation happened at a time of darkness, when he was not able to rally the fugitives, and when especially he could not shew himself to them, which he was persuaded would have effectually restored order,—and that in the confusion of the night he was borne away by the crowd, and obliged to fly himself." The reader is enabled to judge from the account which has been given of the battle of Waterloo, how far the vanity of Buonaparte had deceived him, or he was guilty of deliberate falsehood.

When he was asked his opinion of Lord Wellington, he generally attempted to evade the question ; but he never used a single expression derogatory of the Duke's military talents. When he was more than usually communicative, he frankly acknowledged that the Duke of Wellington had proved himself to be the first general of the age.

He sometimes spoke of his former achievements. " Ah ! " said he, one day, " I ought to have died when I entered Moscow, then I had attained the very pinnacle of glory ; but from that hour reverses and disgrace have perpetually attended me. And yet, had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy. I would have made peace at Dresden, I would have made peace at Chatillon, but Maret, with well-meaning but fatal zeal, persuaded me against it. Your fine country I had once resolved to invade. It is perhaps fortunate for me that my intention was never executed. That cowardly traitor Villeneuve would not obey the orders which he received. I would have landed as near to Chatham as I could, and have dashed at once for London. I might have failed, I might have perished in the attempt, but the prize was worth the hazard of the undertaking*.

* He gave a curious account of what occurred between Sir Sydney Smith and himself at Acre. " Sir Sidney distributed several proclamations among the French troops, which made

The surrender of Buonaparte to the British power was the highest compliment which he could pay to the national character, and will form a proud era in British story. When the surprise and exultation which it at first occasioned were somewhat abated, the question of his future treatment and destination was agitated in every political circle. Some violent and illiberal men would have doomed him to instant death. "Deliver him to the King, or to the people of France, and let him suffer the punishment due to his crimes," was their furious cry.

The answer to this was easy. It would have been disgraceful to the British character to have delivered up, unclaimed, to certain death, a stranger who had thrown himself on our hospitality, and it would have been time enough to have urged this measure when France had formally demanded the fugitive. The King of France

them waver a little, and I dreaded the consequence. I therefore, in the next order of the day, asserted that the English commander was mad. This irritated him beyond all bounds, and he sent me a furious challenge to meet him in single combat. This I of course refused, and enraged him yet more by adding, that when he brought the Duke of Marlborough to second him, I would accept his challenge. Sir Sydney fought bravely, yet I should have taken Acre had he not captured my battering train. You English have been every way my ruin. But for your constancy I should have been Emperor of the West; and had it not been for you I should likewise have been Emperor of the East: but wherever a ship could get I was always sure to find some of the English to oppose me."

would not, and could not have claimed him. To the King of France Buonaparte was not amenable.— He was no rebel. He had revolted from no allegiance to which he had solemnly sworn. He had never been the subject of Lewis. The contest between Buonaparte and Lewis was that between two independent sovereigns. The Emperor of Elba, under the pretext that certain treaties had not been observed, declared war on the King of France, invaded his country, and expelled him from the throne. Had Buonaparte been conquered he might have been justly detained a prisoner of war, and, considering how necessary it was to deprive him of the power of again disturbing Europe, his confinement might have been strict, or even perpetual; but no law of nations would have given to the French monarch the right of affecting his life.

He could not have been delivered up to the French people, for when its will had been freely expressed, it had threatened him with no punishment, it had demanded of him no account; on the contrary, it had placed his person and his liberty under the safeguard of the national honour. Whether he deserved to expiate his crimes on the scaffold is not now the question. If indeed that question were agitated, the author would not be found in the ranks of the defenders of Napoleon. But when those representatives who had been most freely chosen, and who were most hostile to his

tyranny, had not only refrained from proceeding vindictively against him, but had expressed their gratitude for his voluntary descent from power, and placed him under the special protection of the nation; and when no impartial tribunal then existed before which he might have been justly arraigned, it would have been an everlasting blot on the glory of England to have delivered him into the hands of the faction which was now predominant, and which thirsted for his blood.

By his reception on board a British ship, he had rendered it a point of national honour to secure his life from danger, and his person from outrage: but no delicacy or courtesy to him could lessen the imperious duty of the Allies to accomplish the avowed and legitimate object of the war, and prevent him from again disturbing the peace of the world.

The question on which the cabinet now deliberated was how a generous regard to his comfort could be reconciled with the security of Europe. He had demanded to be permitted to reside in England, and he had pleased himself with the hope that this boon would have been extorted from the characteristic generosity of Britons. It did not however require a moment's deliberation to perceive the impossibility of acceding to his request.

In England he would have been much too near the theatre of his former exploits. He might

have maintained an undetected correspondence with the factions which continued to divide his unhappy country. He was indeed ready to give his word of honour that his political career was for ever closed, but they who were well acquainted with his character and with human nature knew full well that it would have been impossible for him long to have resigned those feelings and those visions in which all the powers of his mind and all the pleasures of his existence had been centred; his word of honour had likewise been too often violated; and it had seemed to have been the policy of his government to encourage and reward in his officers a breach of that parole, which with every noble mind is sacred and inviolable.

Without exercising over him such a *surveillance* as would have been a constant source of irritation and inconsistent with all comfort, it would have been impossible to have prevented him from holding intercourse with the disaffected, and, at some unexpected period, escaping from his guard, and re-appearing on the theatre of the world to open anew the bleeding wounds of Europe. In truth, all possible precaution would have been ineffectual to quiet every apprehension and remove every danger; and the British government would have taken upon itself a dreadful responsibility, if, by any false delicacy or imprudent generosity towards a fallen

foe, it had compromised the grand object of the war.

In England, then, Buonaparte could not be permitted to reside with comfort to himself or security to Europe, nor could he have been suffered to migrate to any distant neutral country. There his correspondence with French traitors would have been unrestrained, and against his return thence no security could have existed; but could some distant and isolated spot be found, whither the steps of the factious could never penetrate, and whence escape was impossible, many unpleasant restraints on his personal liberty, many precautions inconsistent with public or private enjoyment, might be dispensed with, and the fears and suspicions of Europe might cease.

The island of St. Helena presented this spot. Twelve hundred miles distant from the nearest continent,—affording in the whole of its circumference but one harbour, and that difficult of access, strong by nature, rendered yet stronger by art, and bidding defiance to a sudden surprise and to a regular siege—the ocean being commanded from its rocky steeps to the extent of sixty miles in every direction, this island presented every character which could be desired. Hither it was determined that Buonaparte should be sent, while every provision was made for his comfort, and even his luxury, which prudence would permit—

and doubtless, he will ere long acknowledge, unless he should lament in this distant banishment the destruction of many vain and faithless and atrocious purposes which he yet contemplated, that in the comparative freedom which he will there enjoy, he experiences more real happiness than any residence in England, subject to constant espionage and suspicion, could have afforded*.

* The following instructions to the Admiral with whom Buonaparte was to sail, and the official letter in which these instructions were contained, shew the prudence of the British government in adopting every necessary precaution, and its anxiety to contribute as much as possible to the comfort of the illustrious exile.—Preparations have since been made to build a handsome residence for his immediate occupation, and a vessel has been despatched laden with materials for the purpose, and with a profusion of the most elegant and costly furniture:

LETTER FROM EARL BATHURST, SECRETARY OF STATE,
TO THE LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Downing-street, July 30.

MY LORDS.—I wish your Lordships to have the goodness to communicate to Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn a copy of the following memorial, which is to serve him by way of instruction to direct his conduct while General Buonaparte remains under his care.

The Prince Regent, in confiding to English officers a mission of such importance, feels that it is unnecessary to express to them his earnest desire, that no greater personal restraint may be employed than what shall be found necessary faithfully to perform the duties of which the Admiral as well as the Governor of St. Helena must never lose sight, namely, the perfectly secure detention of the person of General Buonaparte. Every thing, which without opposing the grand object, can be granted as an

That the British ministry exceeded its powers by determining to seclude the too-celebrated stranger in this solitary abode, cannot be denied. Without the sanction of parliament, and without

indulgence, will, his Royal Highness is convinced, be allowed the General. The Prince Regent depends further on the well-known zeal and resolute character of Sir George Cockburn, that he will not suffer himself to be misled, imprudently to deviate from the performance of his duty. **BATHURST.**

MEMORIAL.

When General Buonaparte leaves the Bellerophon to go on board the Northumberland, it will be the properest moment for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which General Buonaparte may have brought with him.

The Admiral will allow all the baggage, wine, and provisions which the General may have brought with him, to be taken on board the Northumberland.

Among the baggage, his table service is to be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money, than for real use.

His money, his diamonds, and his valuable effects (consequently bills of exchange also), of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The Admiral will declare to the General, that the British government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his flight.

The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by the General; the inventory of the effects to be retained shall be signed by this person as well as by the Rear-Admiral, and by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory.

The interest on the principal (according as his property is more

an express act for the purpose, they had no legal right to detain or thus dispose of the stranger who had sought the protection of the British laws. But the necessity of the case, and the wisdom of

or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangements be left to him.

For this reason he can from time to time signify his wishes to the Admiral till the arrival of the new Governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and if no objection is to be made to his proposal, the Admiral or the Governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on his Majesty's treasury.

In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed.

As an attempt might be made to cause a part of his property to pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

The disposal of the troops intended to guard him must be left to the Governor. The latter however has received a notice, in the case which will be hereafter mentioned, to act according to the desire of the Admiral.

The General must be constantly attended by an officer appointed either by the Admiral, or the Governor. If the General is allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, one orderly man at least must accompany the officer.

When ships arrive, and as long as they remain in sight, the General must be confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed. During this time all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden. His companions in St. Helena are subject during this time to the same rules, and must remain with him.

their decision, form a sufficient excuse for this vigour beyond the law, and parliament will doubtless readily and thankfully grant them an indemnity for their conduct.

At other times it is left to the judgment of the Admiral or Governor to make the necessary regulations concerning them.

It must be signified to the General, that if he makes any attempt to fly he will be put under close confinement; and it must be notified to his attendants, that if it should be found that they are plotting to prepare the General's flight, they shall be separated from him, and likewise put under close confinement.

All letters addressed to the General or to persons in his suite must be delivered to the Admiral or Governor, who will read them before he suffers them to be delivered to those to whom they are addressed. Letters written by the General or his suite are subject to the same rule.

No letter that does not come to St. Helena through the Secretary of state must be communicated to the General or his attendants, if it is written by a person not living in the island. All their letters, addressed to persons not living in the island, must go under the cover of the Secretary of state.

It will be clearly expressed to the General, that the Governor and Admiral have precise orders to inform his Majesty's government of all the wishes and representations which he may desire to address to it; in this respect they need not use any precaution. But the paper on which such request or representation is written, must be communicated to them open, that they may both read it, and when they send it accompany it with such observations as they may judge necessary.

Till the arrival of the new Governor, the Admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the person of General Buonaparte, and his Majesty has no doubt of the inclination of the present Governor to concur with the Admiral for this purpose.

The Admiral has full power to retain the General on board his

Buonaparte heard of the decision of the council through the medium of the newspapers before it was officially announced to him, and his mortifi-

ship, or to convey him on board again, when, in his opinion, the secure detention of his person cannot be otherwise effected.

When the Admiral arrives at St. Helena, the Governor will upon his representation adopt measures for sending immediately to England, the Cape of Good Hope, or the East-Indies, such officers or persons in the military corps of St. Helena, as the Admiral, either because they are foreigners, or on account of their character or their dispositions, shall think it adviseable to dismiss from the military service in St. Helena.

If there are strangers in the island whose residence in the country shall seem to be with a view of becoming instrumental in the flight of General Buonaparte, he must take measures to remove them.

The whole coast of the island, and all ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the Admiral. He fixes the places which the boats may visit, and the Governor will send a sufficient guard to the points where the Admiral shall consider this precaution to be necessary.

The Admiral will adopt the most vigorous measures to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall allow.

Orders will be issued to prevent, after a certain necessary interval, any foreign or mercantile vessel from going in future to St. Helena.

If the General should be seized with a serious illness, the Admiral and the Governor will each name a physician who enjoys their confidence, in order to attend the General in common with his own physician; they will give them strict orders to give in every day a report on the state of his health.

In case of his death the Admiral will give orders to convey his body to England.

Given at the War-Office, July 30, 1815.

cation and rage were extreme. At first he peremptorily declared that he would not be taken from the *Bellerophon* alive. His suite fully participated in his emotion. When Madame Bertrand learned that she was to be secluded for life on the barren rock of St. Helena, she burst from the cabin, rushed towards Buonaparte who was then parading the deck, threw herself at his feet, deliriously clasped his knees, and then running to the side of the vessel, would have precipitated herself into the sea, had not her purpose been violently prevented.

Two days elapsed before the arrival of the British commissioner, during which time Buonaparte had reflected on the inutility of resistance, and had become reconciled to his fate. Perhaps he could not conceal from himself that it was impossible for the British government otherwise to dispose of him. He again began to shew himself to the crowds which constantly surrounded the ship, and his countenance sometimes brightened into a smile.

He now diligently employed himself in writing. The greater part of his compositions were immediately destroyed*. Among those which were

* The following interesting fragment of a letter to the Empress had been torn, and thrown from the cabin-window :

“ Madam, my dear and honoured Wife!—Attending once more solely to the interests of France, I am going to abdicate the throne; and in closing my own political career, to bring about

preserved, and which have seen the light, was the following spirited protest against the right which the British government had assumed in banishing him to St. Helena :

the commencement of the reign of our dear son. My tenderness for you and for him impels me to this step no less than my duties as a monarch. If he ensure, as Emperor, the happiness of France, and as a son, the happiness and the glory of his mother, my dearest wishes will be accomplished ! Nevertheless, if even in his most tender infancy I can give up to him all my authority in my capacity of head of the state, I cannot, and it would be too painful to my heart to sacrifice also the inviolable rights which nature gave me —————.”

The annexed proclamation has been widely circulated in France, as the farewell address of Buonaparte to his people, and composed by him on board the Bellerophon after he was informed that he would be sent to St. Helena. The author does not vouch for the authenticity of the paper, but merely states, that in many of the political circles of Paris it was confidently attributed to Buonaparte. If indeed it be the composition of the Ex-Emperor, the Allies are not only justified in banishing him to the isolated rock of St. Helena, but bound to diligently watch the first attempt at flight, and then immure him for life in some dungeon whence escape would be hopeless.—

“ The machinations of treason have obliged me again to separate from you : but the victims of the same treason I lament only your misfortunes.

I coveted the sceptre but to sway it for your glory and welfare. The knowledge of my devotion to your honour and prosperity excited the hatred of the sovereigns of Europe. Had I sought only to reign without regard to the interests of my people, I should have established in their estimation the legitimacy of my title to the throne. Had agriculture been neglected, had manufactories languished, had debt accumulated, and public spirit

“ I protest solemnly in the face of heaven and of men against the violation of my most sacred rights by the forcible disposal of my person, and of my

been degraded, then I should have possessed the assured friendship of rival potentates. Had I circumscribed the prosperity of the empire to the embellishment of its palaces, or sacrificed the majesty of the throne to the preservation of the royal authority, then my dynasty might have possessed the inglorious inheritance.

The sovereigns of Europe confederated against me as a legislator whose establishments nurtured and animated the talents and industry of the community of which I had been elected the chief magistrate, and they proscribed my person as the shield of the power and independence of the state. The enemies of a revolution which had triumphed over the abuses that occasioned it, and mercenary traitors insensible to the calamities of an invaded country, associated their efforts to paralyse national exertion, and make you believe that war was my policy, and peace the boon which the governments of Europe solicited from France. Unwilling to sacrifice the illustrious remnant of your defenders, thus isolated from their country, I yielded to the wishes of your representatives, and, to consummate your security, I surrendered myself into the hands of my enemies.

History affords no example where repose and independence were the rewards of submission, but many instances of individual devotion to the hopes of a nation. Since the fatal moment when France announced that she ceased to combat for her liberty and safety, what misfortunes, crimes, and humiliations have devastated and degraded the empire! War with all its devastations, conquest with all its violence, tyranny with all its abuses, and subjection with all its shame, have overwhelmed you. Outrage and perfidy have outstripped even my forebodings.

The perfidy of Austria which uncovered my line and occasioned my disasters in Russia, which bartered Poland, violated

liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon. I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England.

Once seated on board the Bellerophon, I was immediately entitled to the hospitality (*Je fus sur*

the military convention of Dresden, and negotiated but to betray;—the perfidy of Prussia, whose monarchy I preserved when treason had undermined the throne, and cowardice had rendered the kingdom defenceless;—of Russia, whose civil, military, and political history is a series of systematic contempt of faith and equity;—of Bavaria, whose unparalleled turpitude obliged me to fight at Leipsic for preservation, and not for conquest;—of Swisserland, who for a paltry bribe sold the tranquillity of her citizens, the safety of her country, and the sanctity of her neutrality;—of England, whose sophisms have annihilated public law, and whose policy, since the era of Pitt, has unblushingly substituted power for principle, and expedience for justice: not the recollection of all these perfidies had prepared me for those which have now been emulously perpetrated by sovereigns who professed that they bore arms against France only so long as I was seated on her throne. The most lawless barbarians have never manifested such contempt for solemn obligations. The darkest ages have never presented such scenes of treachery and licentious direction of force in an unresisting country. The miserable King, who was content to render France their prey, has even his wrongs to plead. The mockery of his sway desecrates the divinity of his right, and he trembles lest the vengeance of the nation should sweep him and the despoilers from the soil before the work of ruin is accomplished.

Frenchmen! you are now told that not only my ambition, but your contumacious spirit of conquest demanded punishment. Even the acquisitions of former sovereigns and former epochs are now cited as your crimes. And by whom are these charges advanced? By sovereigns whose empires have been formed of successive encroachments on the independence and territories

le foyer) of the British people. If the government, by giving orders to the Captain of the *Bel-lerophon* to receive me and my suite, intended

of their neighbours. What was Russia in the beginning of the last century? How became the elector of Brandenburg monarch of a powerful kingdom? Has Austria absorbed no kingdoms, dismembered no provinces, and does she now hold no domain by the sole tenure of force? Look at the map of Europe. Has France only usurped? Do all the states recognized as independent, even by the treaty of Westphalia, exist? Look around the globe. See the English flag flying in every quarter, and in countries where religion, laws, and language are most dissonant. Has she not subjugated the greater part of Asia? Is she not still endeavouring to force the rampart which separates her from China, and has she not been waging a second war to recover her influence on the American continent?

Our ambition was security. If England had not aspired at the sovereignty of three-fourths of the globe, I should have temporized with the unfriendly counsels of Spain. If Russia had not partitioned Poland and aimed at empire in the south, I never should have proposed to repulse her from the Vistula to the Volga. Europe had acknowledged the baneful influence of England's usurpation. The blood that has flowed for the last twenty-five years has flowed at her purchase; and Europe will further rue the event of a struggle that removes the ascendancy of a civilized people for the domination of northern barbarians.

You are accused of having preferred war to peace, so long as war was successful. Your answers are these. Who first warred against your revolution? Who violated the treaty of Amiens, and violated it with shameless disdain of truth? Who rejected negotiations repeatedly offered, or broke them when conciliation was practicable? Who declared the war of which you are now the victims? Is it not of their own decreeing? I regretted your sacrifices. I was moved to vindicate your indignities, but I

merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour, and sullied its flag.

If this act be consummated, it will be in vain that the English will talk to Europe of their loyalty, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*.

I appeal therefore to history. It will say that an enemy who made war for twenty years on the people of England, came freely in his misfortune

adopted the policy of peace, which was the will of the nation, and I respected it as the bond of union between me and my people. Frenchmen! posterity will judge how far I am responsible to my country for the event of our military efforts. They will decide, when the records are before them, whether I could have mastered fortune; but my love for France, my gratitude for her confidence, and my devotion to her welfare can never be subject to suspicion. To France I owe my existence, and the consciousness of that claim has confirmed the rights of nature.

Frenchmen! I am still your Emperor: but I hold the crown for my son and your interests. His succession can alone ensure the fruits of your efforts against a dynasty whose reign is identified with your slavery. Foreign force may support the throne of a patricide king; but the power of fifty millions of Frenchmen is not to be permanently subdued. You have acquired mournful, but useful experience. You are now convinced that arms alone can redeem you from vassalage and ignominy.

Cherish the brave men who have fought your battles. They will again conduct you to glory and victory.

On the rock where I am doomed to pass my future days by the disloyal sentence of your enemies, I shall hear the echo of your triumph, and hail in the loom of its horizon, the flag of your independence.

to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did they answer it in England? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith, they sacrificed him.

On board the Bellerophon, at sea.

August 4.

NAPOLEON."

Sir Henry Bunbury was the person charged with the communication to Buonaparte of the determination of government to send him to the island of St. Helena, with four of his friends to be chosen by himself, and twelve domestics. He received the intimation without surprise, but protested against the measure in the most emphatic manner. He said that he had been forced to quit the island of Elba by the breach of the treaty made with him by the sovereigns of Europe;—that he had exerted himself to prevent the renewal of hostilities;—but that when they became unavoidable, and the fortune of war decided against him, he yielded to the voice of his enemies, and, as they had declared in the face of the world, that it was against him only that they had taken up arms, he abdicated the imperial crown of France in the full confidence that the Allies would be faithful to their solemn declaration, and leave the French to the settlement of their own affairs;—that his first wish had been to retire to the distant

country of America, and there devote himself to the pursuits of literature, but that disappointed in this, he had next resolved to seek protection in Britain, and had therefore fearlessly and unconditionally placed himself in the power of the British government. In this predicament he felt himself entitled to protest against the measure now announced to him.

He next entered into a long argument to prove that the government could not, consistently with the principles of the British constitution, thus doom him to perpetual banishment without accusation and without trial.

Sir Henry answered, that he had no commission but to make known to him the resolution of ministers, but that he would faithfully report the objections which Buonaparte had stated.

The Bellerophon now sailed from Torbay to meet the Northumberland, which was appointed to convey Buonaparte to the place of his destination. In the evening Sir G. Cockburn, who was to accompany him to St. Helena, went on board the Bellerophon with Lord Keith, and was introduced to his charge. Agreeably to instructions, the ceremony with which Buonaparte had hitherto been treated was now discontinued, and the Admiral, approaching him, simply pulled off his hat as he would have done to another general, and said, "How do you do General Buonaparte?"

Buonaparte was surprised, and hesitated an in-

stant: he then replied in a slight and laconic manner.

A momentary pause ensued, when Buonaparte commenced a philippic against the British government for the outrage which they were committing.

Lord Keith and Admiral Cockburn made no reply, but an officer who stood near observed that if Buonaparte had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up to the Russians. "God keep me from the Russians!" exclaimed he, with an expressive look at Bertrand.

Sir G. Cockburn interrupted a conversation which could lead to no satisfactory result by inquiring at what hour he should receive him on board the Northumberland. Buonaparte hesitated. He then suddenly turned to Lord Keith and abruptly asked him, what he would advise him to do. His Lordship replied that he apprehended no other course could be pursued than to submit to his fate with a good grace. Buonaparte then appointed the hour of ten, but immediately after recalled his consent, and began a more violent harangue against the British government.

Another officer interrupted him. "If you had remained at Rochefort another hour, you would have been taken and sent to Paris." Buonaparte turned his eye on the speaker with much surprise and indignation, but uttered not a word. The address of General however soon roused him

again ; “ you have sent Ambassadors to me,” said he, “ as a sovereign potentate,—you have acknowledged me as First Consul. Is this the hour chosen to insult me ?

Admiral Cockburn was anxious to terminate a conference which threatened to produce some unpleasant consequence, and bowing to Buonaparte returned to his ship.

Buonaparte now took an affectionate leave of the faithful companions of his adversity. With many tears they expressed the pain which it gave them to leave him. A Polish Colonel was peculiarly hurt. He had accompanied Buonaparte through most of his campaigns, he had received seventeen wounds in his service, and now on his knees, and with tears in his eyes he entreated that he might be permitted to go with him, though it were in the most menial capacity. The order to send off the Polish officers had been peremptory, and Captain Maitland, almost equally affected with himself, was obliged to refuse the brave fellow's request.

Count Bertrand, his wife, and children, the Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Cassas, and General Gorgaud, with nine men and three women servants remained with Buonaparte, and the rest were sent on board the *Eurotas* frigate. Buonaparte's surgeon alone of all his attendants refused to accompany him, and his

place was supplied by the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*.

At half past eleven on the following morning Buonaparte went on board the *Northumberland*. He had now regained more than usual cheerfulness, and mounting the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman was received by the marines as a General. He immediately advanced to Sir George Cockburn. "Admiral," said he, "I once more protest against the injustice of your country ; but I know my situation and must submit."

An interesting conversation soon afterwards took place between him and some gentlemen, a few fragments of which have been made public.

It began by his once more exclaiming against his detention.

"You do not know my character. You ought to have placed confidence in my word of honour."

One of the Gentlemen said—"Shall I speak the plain truth to you?"

"Speak it."

—"I must then tell you, that since your invasion of Spain, no Englishman could put trust even in your most solemn engagements."

"I was called to Spain by Charles IV to assist him against his son."

"No—according to my opinion, to place King Joseph on the throne."

"I had a grand political system. It was neces-

sary to establish a counterpoise to your enormous power on the sea ; and, besides, the Bourbons had always entertained the same feeling, and adopted the same system."

"It must however be confessed, that France under your sceptre was much more to be feared than during the latter years of Lewis XIV's reign. She was also aggrandized," &c.

"England on her part had become more powerful." Here he referred to our colonies, and particularly to our acquisitions in India.

"Many well-informed men are of opinion that England loses more than she gains by the possession of that overgrown and remote Empire."

"I wished to revive Spain ; and to do much of that which the Cortes afterwards attempted to do."

He was then recalled to the main point, and reminded of the character of the transaction by which he obtained possession of the Spanish Crown. To this he made no answer, but again recurred to the subject of his detention, and after much discussion, concluded by saying—
"Well ! I have been deceived in relying upon your generosity. Replace me in the position from which you took me."

Speaking of his invasion of France, he said with great vehemence—"I was then a Sovereign. I had a right to make war. The King of France had not kept his promises."

He afterwards said exultingly, and laughing

and shaking his head—"I made war on the King of France with six hundred men and beat him too."

He said that in confining him as we did, we were "acting like a little aristocratic power, and not like a great free people."

Of Mr. Fox he said, he knew him, and had seen him at the Thuilleries—"He had not your prejudices."

"Mr. Fox, General, was a zealous patriot with regard to his own country, and besides a citizen of the world."

"He sincerely wished for peace, and I wished for it also. His death prevented the conclusion of peace. The others were not sincere."

He afterwards observed—"I do not say that I have not for twenty years endeavoured to ruin England;" and then, as if correcting himself for having inadvertently said more than was prudent—"that is to say, to lower you—I wished to force you to be just—at least less unjust."

He was asked his opinion of the British infantry?

"Long wars make good soldiers—the cavalry of both nations is excellent—but your artillery have derived much improvement from the French."

Of the Duke of Wellington he seemed to avoid giving any opinion.

To a question concerning Lewis XVIII, he replied.

"He is a good sort of a man, too fond of the

table and pretty sayings. He is not calculated for the French. The Duchess of Angouleme is the only man in the family. The French must have such a man as myself."

He afterwards broke out into some invectives against the conduct of the Allies and called it perfidious and treacherous.

He once more spoke of St. Helena, and expressed himself not only indignant, but surprised at being sent there.

"I would have given my word of honour to have remained quiet, and to have held no political correspondence in England. I would have pledged myself not to quit the place assigned me, but to live as a simple individual."

"That seems to be next to impossible; for though you have had great reverses, you could never so far forget what you had been as to feel and conduct yourself as a simple individual."

"But why not let me remain in England upon my parole of honour?"

"You forget how many French officers violated their parole of honour, and that not only you did not express any indignation against them, but received them with particular distinction—Lefebvre Desnouettes is an instance of this."

Buonaparte made no reply, and the conversation ended.

After waiting a few days for provisions and stores, the Northumberland sailed for St. Helena,

and arrived there on the 18th of October. Buonaparte was lodged in a private house until a suitable residence could be prepared for him. During the former part of the voyage he was the life of the crew ; but as he approached the place of his destination, his spirits flagged, and when the rugged and barren rocks of St. Helena first presented themselves to his view, he hurried to his cabin, and burst into tears. Every possible arrangement is rapidly making to contribute to his comfort, and he may yet be happy in the society of those whose fidelity is worthy of a better object, if he can forget his visionary schemes of ambition, and the incalculable misery which he has wantonly produced.

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

At the suggestion of several intelligent friends who were anxious to possess every authentic document relative to the glorious affairs of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, and at the same time to furnish materials for the future historian, the Author has added the official accounts transmitted by the Allied commanders to their respective governments, together with the French details of the campaign.

No. I.

THE ENGLISH ACCOUNT.

MY LORD,

Waterloo, June 19th, 1815.

BUONAPARTE having collected the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and the 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez on the Sambre, at day-light in morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march;

and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages of St. Amand and Ligny in front of his position.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the meantime, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the fifth division under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the first and second corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of

numbers, as the fourth corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the fifth division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the twenty-eighth, forty-second, seventy-ninth, and ninety-second regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly, at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and, as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back,

and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sombref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the first Life Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up, in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la-Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and, in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain, and the Marshal had promised me that in case we should be attacked he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher,

on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which, Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and First Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which after a severe contest was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and

that the march of General Bulow's corps by Frichemont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect; and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it, only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning, that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and, I am sorry to add, that our's has been immense. In Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, his Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell, gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated.

The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got

through this arduous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his Majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your Lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under Lieutenant-General Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-General Maitland, and Major-General Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for His Royal Highness's approbation, Lieutenant-General Sir H. Clinton; Major-General Adam; Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; Major-General Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda; Colonel Mitchele, commanding a brigade of the 4th division; Major-Generals Sir James Kempt and Sir Denis Pack; Major-General Lambert; Major-General Lord E. Somerset; Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby; Major-General Sir C. Crant, and Major-General Sir H. Vivian; Major-General Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-General Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

The Artillery and Engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood, and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-General Major-General Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-Master-General,

Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his Majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his Majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blücher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance received from them.

The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this despatch, two eagles, taken by the troops

in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness—I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's protection.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

No. II.

THE PRUSSIAN ACCOUNT.

It was on the 15th of this month, that Napoleon, after having collected on the 14th, five corps of his army, and the several corps of the Guard between Maubeuge and Beaumont, commenced hostilities. The points of concentration of the four Prussian corps, were Fleurus, Namur, Ciney, and Hannut; the situation of which made it possible to unite the army in one of these points, in twenty-four hours.

On the 15th, Napoleon advanced by Thuin, upon the two banks of the Sambre, against Charleroi. General Ziethen had collected the first corps near Fleurus, and had, on that day, a very warm action with the enemy, who, after having taken Charleroi, directed his march upon Fleurus. General Ziethen maintained himself in his position near that place.

Field-Marshal Blucher intending to fight a great battle with the enemy as soon as possible, the three other corps of the Prussian army were consequently directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where the 2d and 3d corps were to arrive on the 15th, and the 4th corps on the 16th.

Lord Wellington had united his army between Ath and Nivelles, which enabled him to assist Field-Marshal Blucher, in case the battle should be fought on the 15th.

JUNE 16.—BATTLE OF LIGNY.

The Prussian army was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and beyond the last place, and occupied with a large force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, situated in its front. Meantime only three corps of the army had joined; the fourth, which was stationed between Liege and Hannut, has been delayed in its march by several circumstances, and was not yet come up. Nevertheless, Field-Marshal Blucher resolved to give battle, Lord Wellington having already put in motion to support him a strong division of his army, as well as his whole reserve stationed in the environs of Brussels, and the fourth corps of the Prussian army being also on the point of arriving.

The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy brought up above one hundred and thirty thousand men. The Prussian army was eighty thousand strong. The village of St. Amand was the first point attacked by the enemy, who carried it, after a vigorous resistance.

He then directed his efforts against Ligny. It is a large village, solidly built, situated on a rivulet of the same name. It was there that a contest began which may be considered as one of the most obstinate recorded in history. Villages have often been taken and retaken: but here the combat continued for five hours in the villages themselves; and the movements forwards or backwards were confined to a very narrow space. On both sides fresh troops continually came up. Each party had behind the part of the village which it occupied great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and were continually renewed by the reinforce-

ments which they received from their rear, as well as from the heights on the right and left. About two hundred cannon were directed from both sides against the village, which was on fire in several places at once. From time to time the combat extended along the whole line, the enemy having also directed numerous troops against the third corps; however, the main contest was near Ligny. Things seemed to take a favourable turn for the Prussian troops, a part of the village of St. Amand having been retaken by a battalion commanded by the Field Marshal in person; in consequence of which advantage we had regained a height, which had been abandoned after the loss of St. Amand.—Nevertheless the battle continued about Ligny with the same fury. The issue seemed to depend on the arrival of the English troops, or on that of the fourth corps of the Prussian army; in fact, the arrival of this last division would have afforded the Field Marshal the means of making, immediately, with the right wing an attack, from which great success might be expected: but news arrived that the English division destined to support us, was violently attacked by a corps of the French army, and that it was with great difficulty it had maintained itself in its position at Quatre Bras. The fourth corps of the army did not appear, so that we were forced to maintain alone the contest with an army greatly superior. The evening was much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with undiminished fury, and the same equality of success; we invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more and more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly a division of the enemy's infantry, which, by favour of the night had made

a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in the rear the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise on the part of the enemy was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry, also posted on a height behind the village, was repulsed by the enemy's cavalry in repeated attacks.

Our infantry posted behind Ligny, though forced to retreat, did not suffer itself to be discouraged, either by being surprised by the enemy in the darkness, a circumstance which exaggerates in the mind of man the dangers to which he finds himself exposed, or, by the idea of seeing itself surrounded on all sides. Formed in masses, it coolly repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry, and retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its retrograde movement upon Tilly. In consequence of the sudden irruption of the enemy's cavalry, several of our cannons in their precipitate retreat had taken directions which led them to defiles, in which they necessarily fell into disorder; in this manner, fifteen *pièces* fell into the hands of the enemy. At the distance of a quarter of a league from the field of battle, the army formed again. The enemy did not venture to pursue it. The village of Brie remained in our possession during the night, as well as Sombref, where General Thielman had fought with the third corps, and whence he, at day-break, slowly began to retreat towards Gembloux, where the fourth corps, under General Bulow, had at length arrived during the night. The first and second corps proceeded in the morning behind the defile of Mount St. Guibert. Our loss in killed and wounded was great; the enemy, however, took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded. The battle was lost, but not our honour. Our

soldiers had fought with a bravery which equalled every expectation; their fortitude remained unshaken, because every one retained his confidence in his own strength. On this day Field-Marshal Blucher had encountered the greatest dangers. A charge of cavalry led on by himself, had failed. While that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket shot struck the Field-Marshal's horse: the animal, far from being stopped in his career by this wound, began to gallop more furiously till it dropped down dead. The Field Marshal, stunned by the violent fall, lay entangled under the horse. The enemy's cuirassiers, following up their advantage, advanced: our last horseman had already passed by the Field Marshal, an adjutant alone remained with him, and had just alighted, resolved to share his fate. The danger was great, but heaven watched over us. The enemy pursuing their charge, passed rapidly by the Field Marshal without seeing him: the next moment, a second charge of our cavalry having repulsed them, they again passed by him with the same precipitation, not perceiving him, any more than they had done the first time. Then, but not without difficulty, the Field Marshal was disengaged from under the dead horse, and he immediately mounted a dragoon horse.

On the 17th, in the evening, the Prussian army concentrated itself in the environs of Wavre. Napoleon put himself in motion against Lord Wellington upon the great road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. An English division maintained, on the same day, near Quatre Bras, a very severe contest with the enemy. Lord Wellington had taken a position on the road to Brussels, having his right wing leaning upon Braine-la-Leud, the centre near Mont St. Jean, and the left wing against La Haye Sainte. Lord Wellington wrote to the Field Marshal, that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the Field Marshal would

support him with two corps of his army. The Field Marshal promised to come with his whole army; he even proposed, in case Napoleon should not attack, that the Allies themselves, with their whole united force, should attack him the next day. This may serve to shew how little the battle of the 16th had disorganized the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength. Thus ended the day of the 17th.

BATTLE OF THE 18th.

At break of day the Prussian army again began to move. The fourth and second corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemont, to take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. The third corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit: the former was about eighty thousand strong; the enemy had above one hundred and thirty thousand. In a short time, the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the

English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned to them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence.

Towards six o'clock in the evening, we received the news that General Thielman, with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The Field Marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone ensure the victory, and if it were obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole

of the fourth corps, and a part of the second, under General Pirch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury: however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while at the same time the whole English line advanced.

Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, and in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half-past nine. The Field Marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French being pursued without inter-

mission, was absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn fields or the houses.

At Genappe the enemy had intrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages: at our approach we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon shot, followed by a *hurrah*, and, an instant after, the town was ours. It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horseback, and, in his hurry, had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About forty thousand men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery.

The enemy in his flight has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

At three o'clock, Napoleon had despatched from the field of battle a courier to Paris, with the news that vic-

tory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer any army left. We have not yet an exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole were killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are Generals Monton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time about three hundred cannon, and above five hundred caissons are in our hands.

Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called *La Belle Alliance*. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle: it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that by a happy chance Field-Marshal Blucher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the Field Marshal desired, that this battle should bear the name of *La Belle Alliance*.

By the order of Field-Marshal Blucher.

General GNEISENAU.

No. III.

THE BELGIAN ACCOUNT.

*Head-quarters, Nivelles, 17th June, 1815,
Two in the morning.*

VERY early on the morning of the 15th, the Prussian army was attacked in its position, which it abandoned, and retired from Charleroi, by Gosselies, as far as the environs of Fleurus. As soon as I was apprised of this attack, I gave the necessary orders to the corps of troops under my command. In consequence of what took place in the Prussian army, the battalion of Orange Nassau, which, together with a battery of light artillery, occupied the village of Frasné, were attacked at five o'clock in the evening of the 15th. These troops maintained themselves in their position on the height of this village, called Quatre-Bras, and at a short distance from the road. The skirmishing ceased upon this point at eight o'clock in the evening.

As soon as I was informed of this attack, I gave orders for the third division, as well as to two English divisions, to move upon Nivelles; and to the second, to maintain the position of Quatre-Bras. Only a part of the second division was enabled to move thither immediately, in consequence of the brigade, under the orders of Major-General Byland, not being able to leave Nivelles prior to the arrival of other troops at that place.

The firing of the tirailleurs commenced at five o'clock yesterday morning on this point, and was kept up on both sides until mid-day, without any result. About two o'clock the attack became much more severe, especially on the part of the cavalry and artillery. The brigade of light cavalry,

under the command of General Van Merlen, was not able to come up before four o'clock; previous to which time I had no cavalry to oppose to the enemy. Seeing of how great importance it was to preserve the position on the heights of the road, called Quatre-Bras, I was fortunate in maintaining them against an enemy who was in every respect superior to me in force.

Having been attacked by the two French corps, commanded by Generals d'Erlon and Reille, and having succeeded in checking them, the Duke of Wellington had time enough to assemble a sufficient force to foil the projects of the enemy. The result of this attack has been, that after a very obstinate contest which lasted till nine o'clock in the evening, we not only checked the enemy, but even repulsed him.

The Prussian army, which was also attacked yesterday, maintained its principal position; and there is no doubt, that Napoleon, with very considerable forces, will direct an attack upon the whole line.

Our troops bivouacked upon the field of battle, whither I shall immediately proceed, in expectation of the probability that Napoleon will endeavour to execute to-day the project of yesterday. The Duke of Wellington has concentrated upon this point as many troops as he was able to collect.

I experience a lively pleasure in being able to announce to your Majesty, that your troops, and the infantry and artillery in particular, fought with great courage.

Circumstances having prevented my receiving the reports from the different corps concerning their loss, I am unable to acquaint you with it: but I shall have the honour of doing it as soon as possible.

(Signed) WILLIAM Prince of Orange.

Brussels, June 22, 1815.

After the battle of the 16th, of which I had the honour of giving an account to your Majesty on the 17th at two in the morning, from the head-quarters at Nivelles, the Duke of Wellington keeping his line with the Prussian army, made a movement in the morning, the result of which was, that the army found itself in position upon the heights in front of Waterloo, where it bivouacked; the enemy's cavalry, which followed the movements of the army, was in different attacks repulsed with loss by the British cavalry.

On the 18th, at day-break, we discovered the enemy in our front: at ten o'clock he shewed a disposition to attack. The army of Buonaparte was composed of the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth corps, the Imperial Guards, nearly the whole of his cavalry, and a train of artillery, consisting of many hundred pieces of cannon. About eleven o'clock the enemy unmasked a small battery, under the cover of the fire of which, his tirailleurs advanced against our right wing, and, immediately after, his attack was directed against a farm surrounded with copse wood, which was situated a short way in front of this wing, and on the left of the road leading to Nivelles. The enemy made the most furious, but fruitless attacks to possess himself of this farm. At noon, the cannonade became violent; and before half-past twelve the battle was extended along the whole line. The French repeatedly attacked our two wings; but as their principal object was to pierce the right of our centre, they employed all their means to accomplish it. Some columns of the enemy's cavalry advanced boldly against us: but, notwithstanding the inconceivable violence with which they renewed their attacks, from three o'clock in the afternoon until the end of the battle, they never succeeded in making our line waver. The enemy was constantly repulsed, as well from the fire of the squares as by the charges

of our cavalry: it is impossible to depict to your Majesty the fury with which they fought, especially during the last six hours.

I was unfortunate in not being able to see the end of this glorious and important battle, having received, half an hour before the defeat of the enemy, a ball through my left shoulder, which compelled me to quit the field of battle.

It is with the most lively satisfaction that I am able to inform your Majesty, that your troops, of all arms, have fought with the greatest courage. In the charges of cavalry, the brigade of carabineers attracted particular notice. The division of Lieutenant-General Chassé was not engaged until late; and, as I was not personally able to quit the centre, I had placed it, for the day, under the orders of General Lord Hill, commanding the second corps of the army. I have heard that this division likewise conducted itself with much bravery, and that Lieutenant-General Chassé, as also the two commanders of brigades, very satisfactorily acquitted themselves of their duty.

I cannot at this moment make any detail to your Majesty of the loss we have sustained, not having received the returns. I am obliged, nevertheless, with the most profound regret to state, that it is considerable.

I have charged my Adjutant, Van Hooft, to transmit this report to your Majesty. I take the liberty of recommending him to your favourable consideration.

(Signed) WILLIAM Prince of Orange.

LOSS OF THE DUTCH.

Officers killed or missing	27
Wounded	115
Rank and file killed or missing	2058
Wounded	1936
Total	4136
Horses killed	1630

No. IV.

HANOVERIAN ACCOUNT.

BY GENERAL ALTEN.

THE troops broke up from their cantonments on the night of the 15th, and proceeded towards Genappe. The Hereditary Prince of Orange, under whose command my division had been placed, took a position at Quatre-Bras, at the intersection of the roads from Mons to Namur, and from Charleroi to Brussels.

The French had divided their force, and attacked Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington on the same day.—As soon as the intention of the enemy was perceived, a position was assigned to us between Quatre-Bras and Sarte à Maveline, with our right wing at the former village, and the latter occupied by our left. Our troops marched to their position under a most violent canonnade from the enemy.—The wood of Bossu on the right of Quatre-Bras was the scene of the most obstinate contention, and was carried and retaken several times. The cannonade from both armies was very severe.

The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against our left wing, and the battalion of Lüneburg was detached to drive him out of the village of Pierremont in our front. The commission was executed by Lieutenant-Colonel Klenke with great courage and skill, the village was carried, and our troops maintained themselves in it, notwithstanding the incessant and furious attacks of the French.—The enemy's infantry now advanced in great force, against whom I opposed the battalions of Grubenhagen, Osnabruch, and Bremen, with the artillery of the German legion. The French were repulsed, and retired in confusion.

The enemy's cavalry now made several desperate charges on our right, but the determined bravery of our troops prevented them from being broken. The Landwehr of Lüneburg, under Colonel Von Ramdohr, particularly distinguished itself in this affair. It permitted the cuirassiers to approach within thirty paces, and then poured on them a steady and well-directed fire, by which they were driven back with great loss.

We successfully maintained our position, but the Prussians having sustained a severe check on our left, we were compelled to fall back upon Genappe on the 17th. In effecting this movement, my division formed the rear-guard.—The enemy presenting themselves in great force in the afternoon, we continued our retreat to Mont St. Jean, on the road to Brussels.

The army of the Duke of Wellington was concentrated here, with the left wing at the village of Frichemont, and the right on the road from Brussels to Nivelles. The road from Genappe to Brussels intersected the centre, where my division was posted. The second light battalion of the King's German Legion occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte, in front of the left of my position. A company of Hanoverian Yagers, and two companies of English Guards were posted at the *chateau* of Hougoumont, and a small wood before it, and in front of the right wing.

The infantry of the Prince of Orange was so placed that the battalions might form into squares, or deploy into line as circumstances might require, and a sufficient space was left between them for the manœuvres of the cavalry and artillery, which were posted in the rear. General Hill, with the reserve, was at Merke Braine, and covered the road from Nivelles to Brussels, and beyond this road were some corps of cavalry to observe the motions of the enemy.

At one o'clock the enemy's riflemen attacked the wood in front of our right, and a severe contest ensued. This position was of great importance, and could the enemy have carried it, and gained possession of the heights, our right flank would have been endangered. Strong columns of infantry, supported by artillery, advanced upon this position, which was bravely defended by the British Guards.

The battle now became general through the whole line. A numerous artillery was directed upon the centre, under cover of which an immense column of infantry advanced upon the road of Genappe, but it was repulsed by the second light battalions, the eighth battalion of the line of the German Legion, and the battalion of Lüneburg. The French cavalry next advanced with such impetuosity as to drive in our light troops, and penetrate to the brow of the hill among the squares. This ground they maintained, notwithstanding every opposition, till the British cavalry came up, and completely repulsed them.

The fire of artillery now became more tremendous, and was continued with a violence which the oldest soldiers never before witnessed. The attacks of the French infantry and cavalry were incessant, and directed on various points.—Buonaparte was resolved to pierce the centre, and open for himself a way to Brussels. He every moment advanced nearer to us, and continually brought up fresh troops. His artillery played on our squares at the distance of one hundred and fifty paces; but not a single battalion yielded, the dead were thrust aside, and the ranks immediately closed. Some of the regiments waited not to receive the attack, but rushing on the enemy repulsed him in disorder.

At length, weakened by so many repeated and murderous attacks, and several of the battalions being nearly cut to pieces, my division was compelled to fall back, but it re-

tired in good order, and cheerfully advanced again at the command of the Duke of Wellington. That illustrious hero was an eye-witness of our conduct; he was uniformly found where the danger was most imminent, and the Prince of Orange displayed a valour worthy of his noble ancestors; It was against his division that the principal efforts of the main body of the army, led on by Buonaparte in person, were directed.

At this critical moment, the Prussian General, Von Bulow, hastened to our assistance with thirty thousand men, and attacked the enemy in his flank. The day was soon our own. The enemy fled in every direction, and abandoned the greater part of his artillery. Two hundred pieces of cannon, and several eagles were taken, and although the number of prisoners cannot yet be accurately stated, it amounts to several thousands.

The glory of these two days has been purchased with the loss of the greater part of our most distinguished officers, among whom are Colonels Von Ompteda, Du Plat, Von Wurmb, and Von Langrehr. The battalions of Bremen, Lüneburg, Verden, Grubenhagen, and the Duke of York, deserve the highest praise. A favourable report has also been made to me of many of the brigades of Landwehr.—That of Osnabruch, under Count Munster, fought against Napoleon's Imperial guard, and threw them into confusion.

No. V.'

SPANISH ACCOUNT.

*Supplement to the Madrid Gazette of Thursday, 13th
July, 1815.*

The Lieutenant-General of the Royal Armies, Don Miguel de Alava, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty in Holland, has addressed to His Excellency Don Pedro Cevallos, First Secretary of State, the following letter :

Most Excellent Sir,

The short space of time that has intervened between the departure of the last post and the victory of the 18th, has not allowed me to write to your Excellency so diffusely as I could have wished ; and although the army is at this moment on the point of marching, and I also am going to set out for the Hague to deliver my credentials, which I did not receive till this morning ; nevertheless, I will give your Excellency some details respecting this important event, which, possibly, may bring us to the end of the war much sooner than we had any reason to expect.

I informed your Excellency, under date of the 16th inst. that Buonaparte, marching from Maubeuge and Philippeville, had attacked the Prussian posts on the Sambre, and that, after driving them from Charleroi, he had entered that city on the 15th.

On the 16th, the Duke of Wellington ordered his army to assemble on the point of Quatre Bras, where the roads cross from Namur to Nivelles, and from Brussels to Charleroi ; and he himself proceeded to the same point, at seven in the morning.

On his arrival, he found the Hereditary Prince of Orange,

with a division of his own army, holding the enemy in check, till the other divisions of the army were collected.

By this time, the British division under General Picton had arrived, with which the Duke kept up an unequal contest with more than thirty thousand of the enemy, without losing an inch of ground. The British Guards, several regiments of infantry, and the Scotch Brigade, covered themselves with glory on this day; and Lord Wellington told me, on the following day, that he never saw his troops behave better during the number of years he had commanded them.

The French Cuirassiers suffered very considerable loss; for, confiding in their breast-plates, they approached so near the British squares, that they killed some officers of the 42d regiment with their swords; but those valiant men, without giving way, kept up so strong a fire, that the whole ground was covered with the Cuirassiers and their horses.

In the mean time, the troops kept coming up; and the night put an end to the contest in this quarter.

During this time Buonaparte was fighting with the remainder of his forces against Marshal Blucher, with whom he had commenced a bloody action at five in the afternoon; from which time, till nine in the evening, he was constantly repulsed by the Prussians, with great loss on both sides. But, at that moment, he made his cavalry charge with so much vigour, that they broke the Prussian line of infantry, and introduced disorder and confusion throughout.

Whether Buonaparte did not perceive this circumstance, or that he had experienced a great loss; or, what is more probable, that Marshal Blucher had re-established the battle, the fact is that he derived no advantage whatever from this affair, and that he left the Prussians quiet during the whole of the night of the 16th.

Lord Wellington, who, by the morning of the 17th, had

collected the whole of his army in the position of Quatre Bras was combining his measures to attack the enemy, when he received a despatch from Marshal Blucher, communicating to him the events of the preceding day, together with the incident that had snatched the victory out of his hands; adding, that the loss he had experienced was of such a nature, that he was forced to retreat to Wavre, on our left, where the corps of Bulow would unite with him, and that on the 19th he would be ready for any affair he might wish to undertake.

In consequence of this, Lord Wellington was obliged immediately to retreat, and this he effected with so much skill, that the enemy did not dare to interrupt him. He took up a position on Braine le Leud, in front of the great wood of Soignés, as he had previously determined, and placed his head quarters in Waterloo.

I joined the army on that morning, though I had received no orders to this effect, because I believed that I should thus best serve his Majesty, and at the same time fulfil your excellency's directions; and this determination has afforded me the satisfaction of having been present at the most important battle that has been fought for many centuries, in its consequences, its duration, and the talents of the chiefs who commanded on both sides, and because the peace of the world, and the future security of all Europe, may be said to have depended on its result.

The position occupied by his lordship was very good; but towards the centre it had various weak points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the general in chief. These qualifications were however sufficiently found in the British troops and their illustrious commander; and it may be asserted, without offence to any one, that to them belongs the chief part, or all the glory of this memorable day.

On the right of the position, and a little in advance, was a country-house, the importance of which Lord Wellington quickly perceived, because, the position could not be attacked on that side without carrying it, and it might therefore be considered as its key.

The Duke confided this important point to three companies of the English Guards, under the command of Lord Saltoun, and laboured during the night of the 17th in fortifying it as well as possible, covering its garden, and a wood which served as its park, with Nassau troops, as sharpshooters.

At half-past ten, a movement was observed in the enemy's line, and many officers were seen coming from and going to a particular point, where there was a very considerable corps of infantry, which we afterwards understood to be the Imperial Guard; here was Bonaparte in person, and from this point issued all the orders. In the mean time, the enemy's masses were forming, and every thing announced the approaching combat, which began at half-past eleven, the enemy attacking desperately with one of his corps, and with his usual shouts, the country-house on the right.

The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post; but the enemy met such resistance in the house, that, though they surrounded it on three sides, and attacked it with the utmost bravery, they were compelled to desist from their enterprise, leaving a great number of killed and wounded. Lord Wellington sent fresh English troops, who recovered the wood and garden, and the combat ceased for the present on this side.

The enemy then opened a horrible fire of artillery from more than two hundred pieces, under cover of which Bonaparte made a general attack from the centre to the right, with infantry and cavalry in such numbers that it required

all the skill of his Lordship to post his troops, and all the good qualities of the latter to resist the attack.

General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet to receive them; but was unfortunately killed at the moment when the enemy, appalled by the attitude of this division, fired, and then fled.

The English Life Guards then charged with the greatest bravery, and the 49th and 105th French regiments lost their respective eagles in this charge, together with two or three thousand prisoners. A column of cavalry, at whose head were the Cuirassiers, advanced to charge the Life Guards, and thus save their infantry, but the Guards received them with the utmost valour, and the most sanguinary cavalry fight that ever was witnessed now took place.

The French Cuirassiers were completely beaten, in spite of their cuirasses, by troops who had no defence of the kind, and they lost one of their eagles in this conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry called the *Royals*.

Intelligence now arrived that the Prussian corps of Bulow had reached St. Lambert, and that Prince Blucher, with another corps under the command of General Thielman (Ziethen), was advancing with all haste to take part in the combat, leaving the other two in Wavre, which had suffered much in the battle of the 16th at Fleurus. The arrival of these troops was absolutely necessary in consequence of the forces of the enemy being now more than triple ours, and our loss having been horrid during an unequal combat, from half past eleven in the morning till five in the afternoon.

Buonaparte, who did not believe them to be so near, and who reckoned upon destroying Lord Wellington before their

arrival, perceived that he had fruitlessly lost more than five hours, and that in the critical position in which he would soon be placed, there remained no other resource but that of desperately attacking the weak part of the English position, and thus, if possible, beat the Duke before his own right was turned and attacked by the Prussians.

Henceforward therefore the whole was a repetition of attacks by cavalry and infantry, supported by more than three hundred pieces of artillery, which made horrible ravages in our line, and killed and wounded numerous officers, artillerists, and horses, in the *weakest* part of the position.

The enemy, aware of this destruction, made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard, which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn; but the Duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery, though we were unable to withdraw them for want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them.

At last, about seven in the evening, Buonaparte made a last effort, and putting himself at the head of his guards, attacked the above point of the English position with such vigour, that he drove back the Brunswickers who occupied part of it; and, for a moment, the victory was undecided, and even more than doubtful.

The Duke, who felt that the moment was most critical, spoke to the Brunswick troops with that ascendancy which a great general possesses, made them return to the charge, and putting himself at their head, again restored the combat, exposing himself to every kind of personal danger.

Fortunately at this moment he perceived the fire of Marshal Blucher, who was attacking the enemy's right with *his* usual impetuosity; and the moment of decisive attack being come,

the Duke put himself at the head of the English foot guards, spoke a few words to them, which were answered by a general *hurrah*, and his Grace himself leading them on with his hat, they eagerly rushed forward to come to close action with the Imperial guard. But the latter began a retreat, which was soon converted into absolute flight, and the most complete rout ever witnessed by military men. Entire columns, throwing down their arms and cartouch-boxes, that they might escape the better, fled in the utmost disorder from the field and abandoned to us nearly one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The rout at Vittoria was not comparable to this, and it only resembles it, inasmuch as on both occasions, the French lost all the train of artillery and stores of the army, as well as all the baggage.

The Duke followed the enemy as far as Genappe, where he found the illustrious Blucher, and both embraced in the most cordial manner, on the principal road to Charleroi; but finding himself in the same position with the Prussians, and that his army stood in need of rest after so dreadful a struggle, he left to Blucher the charge of following up the enemy, who promised that he would not leave them a moment of rest. He is now pursuing them, and yesterday at noon he had reached Charleroi, whence he intended to proceed at night and continue the chase.

This is the substance of what took place on this memorable day; but the consequences of the affair are too evident for me to detain you in stating them.

Buonaparte, now tottering on his usurped throne, without money and without troops to recruit his armies, has received a mortal blow, and, according to the language of the prisoners, no other resource is left him, 'than to cut his own throat.'

It is said that he had never been known to expose

his person so much, and that he seemed to seek death, that he might not survive a defeat fraught with such fatal consequences.

I informed your Excellency, under date of the 16th, that his manœuvre appeared to me extremely daring in the face of such generals as Blucher and the Duke. The event has fully justified my prediction. For this reason, I conceive, that his executing it has arisen merely from despair, at the appearance of the innumerable troops who were about to attack him on every side, and in order to strike one of his customary blows before the Russians and Austrians came up.

His military reputation is lost for ever; and, on this occasion, there is no treason on the part of the Allies, nor bridges blown up before their time, on which to throw the blame: all the shame will fall upon himself.

Numerical superiority, superiority of artillery, all was in his favour; and his having commenced the attack, proves that he had sufficient means to execute it.

In short, this talisman, whose charm had so long operated on the French military, has been completely dashed to pieces. Buonaparte has for ever lost the reputation of being invincible; and henceforward this character will belong to an honourable man, who, far from employing this glorious title in disturbing and enslaving Europe, will convert it into an instrument of her felicity, and in procuring for her that peace which she so much requires.

The loss of the British is dreadful, and of the whole military staff the Duke and myself alone remained untouched in our persons and horses.

The Duke of Brunswick was killed on the 16th, and the Prince of Orange and his cousin, the Prince of Nassau, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, received two balls. The Prince of Orange distinguished himself extremely; but,

unfortunately, although his wound is not dangerous, it will deprive the army of his important services for some time, and possibly he may lose the use of his left arm.

Lord Uxbridge, General of cavalry, received a wound at the close of the action, which made the amputation of his right leg necessary; this is an irreparable loss, for it will be difficult to find another chief to lead on the cavalry with the same courage and skill.

The Duke was unable to refrain from shedding tears on witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions. Nothing but the importance of the triumph can compensate for a loss so dreadful.

This morning he has proceeded to Nivelles, and tomorrow he will advance to Mons, whence he will immediately enter France. The weather cannot be better.

I cannot close this despatch without stating to your Excellency, for the information of his Majesty, that Capt. Don Nicholas de Minuissir, of Doyle's regiment, and of whom I before spoke to your Excellency, as well as of his destination in the army, conducted himself yesterday with the greatest valour and propriety. He was wounded when the Nassau troops were driven from the garden, yet he rallied them and led them back to their post. During the action, he had a horse wounded under him, and by his former conduct, as well as by his behaviour on this day, he merits from his Majesty some proof of his satisfaction.

This officer is well known in the war-office, as well as to General Don Josef de Zayas, who has duly appreciated his merits.

God preserve your Excellency many years, &c. &c.

(Signed)

MIGUEL de ALAVA.

Brussels, 20th of June, 1815.

P. S. The number of prisoners cannot be stated, for they are bringing in great numbers every moment. There are many generals among the prisoners; among whom are the Count de Lobau, aide-de-camp to Buonaparte, and Cambrone who accompanied him to Elba.

No. VI.

FRENCH ACCOUNT.

BATTLE OF LIGNY-UNDER-FLEURUS.

Paris, June 21.

On the morning of the 16th the army occupied the following position :—

The left wing, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the first and second corps of infantry, and the second of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasn .

The right wing, commanded by Marchal Grouchy, and composed of the third and fourth corps of infantry, and the third corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus.

The Emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the Imperial Guard and the sixth corps.

The left wing had orders to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the right upon Sombref. The Emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field-Marshal Blucher, occupying with its left

the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position.

The Emperor reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus.

General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The fourth division of the second corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon, these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial-ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of General Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy fought there in considerable force.

General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with his accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about fifty pieces of cannon each.

On the right, General Girard came into action with the

fourth corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times.

Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and General Pajol, fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy shewed from eighty to ninety thousand men, and a great number of cannon.

At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situated on the bank of the ravine which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied with all his masses the heights of the mill of Bussy.

The Emperor returned with his guard *to the village of Ligny*; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse-guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the field of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle.

General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us, that Field-Marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than fifteen thousand men. Our's was three thousand killed and wounded.

On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Les Quatre Bras with a division which cut in pieces an English corps that was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange with twenty-five thousand men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasn . There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the first corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the eighth regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the sixty-ninth regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many persons and generals of note killed or wounded. We estimate the loss of the English at from four to five thousand men. On our side it was very considerable, it amounts to four thousand two hundred killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Les Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe.

In the morning of the 17th, the Emperor repaired to Les Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignes with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref in pursuit of Field-Marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he appeared to wish to take a position.

At ten o'clock in the evening the English army occupied Mont St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignes: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day.

The head quarters of the Emperor were established at

the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

BATTLE OF MONT ST. JEAN.

At nine in the morning the rain having somewhat abated, the first corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mont St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The second corps *leaned* its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The sixth corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in the rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank; an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, enclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at eighty thousand men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be fifteen thousand men. The enemy's force then was upwards of ninety thousand men; ours less numerous.

At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported with thirty pieces of can-

non the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock, Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mont St. Jean, and supported his attack with eighty pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All our efforts were made on the opposite eminence. A brigade of the first division of Count d'Erlon took the village of Mont St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganized several pieces; but the cuirassiers of General Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The Emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; this corps being ready in advance. The Prussian division whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should have advanced.

This done, the Emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience, so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they had suffered so much,

crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in proper time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before the affair on the right was terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy shewing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape shot and musket firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The Emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. This was the moment that indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers had suffered by the grape shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect them, to keep the position, and if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division, which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the eminence in rear of Mont St. Jean, and part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs, the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions, which the enemy had possessed at the outset of the battle. Our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of it, ensured us a signal success on the next day. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the victory gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mont St. Jean, to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments, which were near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence fled in disorder. Cries of *All is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers even pretend that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and the troops threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle-mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the dis-

order ; and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus terminated the battle, a day of false manœuvres was rectified, the greatest success ensured for the next day, yet all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the body-guard drawn up by the side of the Emperor, was disorganized and overthrown by an overwhelming force, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, all the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The Emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which they have made ;—ours cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Previous to the confusion which took place we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the

obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its organization.

The artillery was as usual covered with glory. The carriages belonging to the head quarters remained in their ordinary position : no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such was the result of the battle of Mont St. Jean, so glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatal.

No. VII.

A LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF THE
MOSKWA (MARSHAL NEY) TO HIS EXCEL-
LENCY THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

M. LE DUC,—

The most false and defamatory reports have been publicly circulated for some days, respecting the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have repeated these odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit. After having fought during twenty-five years for my country, after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason; and maliciously to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced.

Compelled to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of oneself, and particularly to repel calumnies, I address myself to you, Sir, as the president of the provisional government, in order to lay before you a brief and faithful

relation of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the minister of war to repair to the Imperial head quarters. I had no command, and no information upon the force and composition of the army. Neither the Emperor nor his minister had given me any previous hint, from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign; I was consequently taken unprepared, without horses, without equipage and without money, and I was obliged to borrow the necessary expenses of my journey. I arrived on the 12th, at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and on the 14th at Beaumont. I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the Duke of Treviso, with which I proceeded on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aide-de-camp, the only officer I had with me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our light troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies.

The Emperor immediately ordered me to put myself at the head of the first and second corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals d'Erlon and Reille, of the divisions of light cavalry of Lieutenant-General Pire, of the division of light cavalry of the guard under the command of Lieutenant-Generals Lefebvre Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of Count Valmy, forming altogether eight divisions of infantry and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had as yet under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasné, Millet, and Heppiegnies. There I took up a position for the night, with the exception of the first corps, which was still at Marchiennes, and which did not join me until the following day.

On the 16th, I was ordered to attack the English in their position at Les Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the

enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing could resist our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when, at the moment that I intended to bring up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasne, I learned that the Emperor had disposed of it without acquainting me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard of the second corps, that he might direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was warmly engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me confounded me. Having now under my command only three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and, in spite of all my efforts, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, I could not do more than maintain myself in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock, the first corps was returned to me by the Emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were absolutely paralyzed, and were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

I cannot help suspending these details for a moment to call your attention to all the melancholy consequences of this false movement, and, in general of the bad disposition during the whole of the day. By what fatality, for example, did the Emperor, instead of directing all his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been taken unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary? How could the Emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double ours, and to do what the military men who were wit-

nesses of it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army would undoubtedly have been destroyed between Les Quatre Bras and Genappe; and that position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have afforded the Emperor an opportunity of outflanking the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn. The general opinion in France, and especially in the army, was, that the Emperor would have bent his whole efforts to annihilate *first* the English army; and circumstances were favourable for the accomplishment of such a project: but fate ordered it otherwise.

On the 17th the army marched in the direction of Mont St. Jean.

On the 18th the battle commenced at one o'clock, and though the bulletin, which details it, makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to say that I was engaged in it. Lieutenant-General Count Drouet has already spoken of that battle in the chamber of peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of ~~some~~ *important* facts which he has passed over in silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to disclose. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most dreadful carnage which I have ever witnessed, General Labedoyere came to me with a message from the Emperor, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the united English and Prussians. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, notwithstanding the fatigue with which they were exhausted. What was my astonishment, I should rather say indignation, when I learned, immediately

afterwards, that so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to our support, as the whole army had been assured, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians were attacking our extreme right, and forcing it to retire!

Whether the Emperor was deceived with regard to the time when the Marshal could support him, or whether the advance of the Marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was still only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle.

A short time afterwards I saw four regiments of the middle guard advancing led on by the Emperor. With these troops, he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy. He ordered me to lead them on. Generals, officers, and soldiers, all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak long to resist the forces opposed to it by the enemy, and we were soon compelled to renounce the hope which this attack had for a few moments inspired. General Friant was struck by a ball at my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who have survived this terrible battle will, I trust, do me the justice to state, that they saw me on foot with sword in hand during the whole of the evening, and that I was one of the last who quitted the scene of carnage at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly gave way: the English also advanced in their turn. There yet remained to us four squares of the told guard to protect our retreat. These brave grenadiers the flower of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded

ground foot by foot, until finally overpowered by numbers, they were almost completely destroyed. From that moment the retrograde movement was decided, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total rout, nor the cry of *Sauve qui peut*, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, being constantly in the rear-guard which I followed on foot, having had all my horses killed, worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to walk, I owe my life to a corporal who supported me in the march, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night I met Lieutenant-General Lefebvre Desnouettes; and one of his officers, Major Schmidt, had the generosity to give me the only horse that remained to him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-Pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of the fate of the Emperor, of whom, before the end of the battle I had entirely lost sight, and who, I had reason to believe, was either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphile Lacroix, chief of the staff of the second corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the Emperor was at Charleroi, I supposed that his Majesty intended to place himself at the head of Marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying near Avesnes, and, with this persuasion, I proceeded to Beaumont; but parties of cavalry following us too closely, and having already intercepted the roads of Maubeuge and Philippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier on that point to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence concerning the Emperor.

In this state of things, having no intelligence of his

Majesty, nor of the Major-General, the disorder increasing every instant, and, with the exception of some veterans of the regiments of the guard and of the line, every one pursuing his own inclination, I determined to proceed immediately to Paris by St. Quentin, and disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the Minister of War, that he might send some fresh troops to meet the army, and rapidly adopt the measures which circumstances required. At my arrival at Bourget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the Emperor had passed through that place at nine o'clock in the morning.

Such, M. le Duc, is a faithful history of this calamitous campaign.

I now ask those who have survived that fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which our military annals furnish no example. I have, it is said, betrayed my country—I who, to serve it, have shewn a zeal which I have perhaps carried too far; but this calumny is not and cannot be supported by any fact or any presumption. Whence have these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, arisen? If, in the inquiries which I have made on this subject, I had not feared almost as much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I should declare that every circumstance proves that I have been basely deceived, and that it is attempted to cover, under the veil of treason, the errors and extravagancies of this campaign; errors which have not been avowed in the bulletins that have appeared, and against which I have in vain raised that voice of truth which I will yet cause to resound in the Chamber of Peers. I expect from the justice of your excellency, and from your kindness to me, that you will cause this letter

to be inserted in the journals, and give it the greatest possible publicity.

I renew to your Excellency, &c.

Marshal Prince of the MOSKWA.

Paris, June 26th, 1815.

MARSHAL DE GROUCHY'S ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIR AT WAVRE.

Dinant, June 20th, 1815.

It was not till after seven in the evening of the 18th of June that I received the letter of the Duke of Dalmatia, which directed me to march on St. Lambert, and to attack General Bulow. I fell in with the enemy as I was marching on Wavre. He was immediately driven into Wavre, and General Vandamme's corps attacked that town, and was warmly engaged. The portion of Wavre, on the right of the Dyle, was carried, but much difficulty was experienced in debouching on the other side. General Girard was wounded by a ball in the breast, while endeavouring to carry the mill of Bielge, in order to pass the river, but in which he did not succeed, and Lieutenant-General Aix had been killed in the attack on the town. In this state of things, being impatient to co-operate with your Majesty's army on that important day, I detached several corps to force the passage of the Dyle and march against Bulow. The corps of Vandamme, in the meantime, maintained the attack on the Wavre, and on the mill, whence the enemy showed an intention to debouch, but which I did not conceive he was capable of effecting. I arrived at Limale, passed the river, and the heights were carried by the division of Vichery and the cavalry. Night did not permit us to

advance further, and I no longer heard the cannon on the side where your Majesty was engaged.

I halted in this situation until day-light. Wavre and Bielge were occupied by the Prussians, who, at three in the morning of the 18th, attacked in their turn, wishing to take advantage of the difficult position in which I was, and expecting to drive me into the defile, and take the artillery which had debouched, and make me repass the Dyle. Their efforts were fruitless. The Prussians were repulsed, and the village of Bielge taken. The brave General Penney was killed.

General Vandamme then passed one of his divisions by Bielge, and carried with ease the heights of Wavre, and along the whole of my line the success was complete. I was in front of Rozierne, preparing to march on Brussels when I received the sad intelligence of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. The officer who brought it informed me, that your Majesty was retreating on the Sambre, without being able to indicate any particular point on which I should direct my march. I ceased to pursue, and began my retrograde movement. The retreating enemy did not think of following me. Learning that the enemy had already passed the Sambre, and was on my flank, and not being sufficiently strong to make a diversion in favour of your Majesty, without compromising the army which I commanded, I marched on Namur. At this moment, the rear of the columns were attacked. That of the left made a retrograde movement sooner than was expected, which endangered for a moment the retreat of the left; but good dispositions soon repaired every thing, and two pieces which had been taken, were recovered by the brave 20th dragoons, who besides took an howitzer from the enemy. We entered Namur without loss. The long defile which extends from this place to

Dinant, in which only a single column can march, and the embarrassment arising from the numerous transports of wounded, rendered it necessary to hold for a considerable time the town, in which I had not the means of blowing up the bridge. I intrusted the defence of Namur to General Vandamme, who with his usual intrepidity maintained himself there till eight in the evening; so that nothing was left behind, and I occupied Dinant.

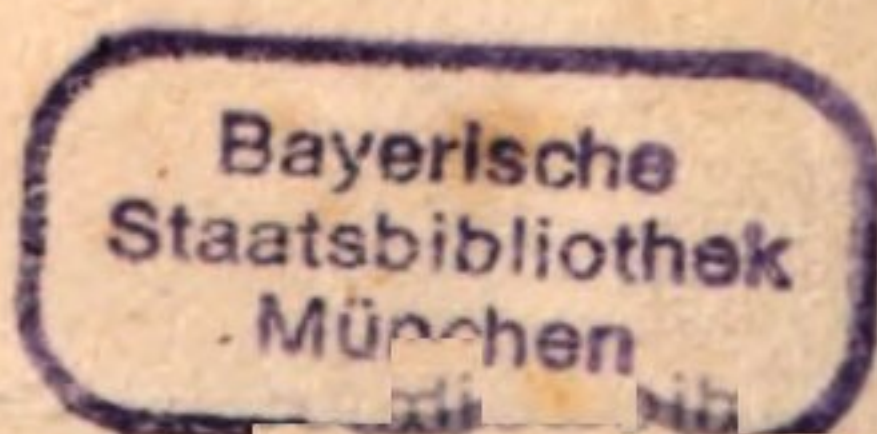
The enemy has lost some thousands of men in the attack on Namur, where the contest was very obstinate; the troops have performed their duty in a manner worthy of praise.

(Signed)

DE GROUCHY.

THE END.

Printed by W. CLOWES, Northumberland-court, Strand.



Obermeier

Buchbinderei nach RAL BG 49

Verfahren nach B. Tel. 0878 153

8303 Rottenburg/L

Boyce, Edmund,

The second usurpation of Buonaparte; or a history of the causes, progress and termination of the revolution in France in 1815 particularly comprising a minute and circumstantial account of the evermemorable victory of Waterloo to which are added appendices containing the official
Bd.: 2

London (1816)

Eur. 112 d-2

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10404989-7